

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 28

Friday, July 12, 1968

Price 10c

Newark black parley p.4

De Gaulle's ballot victory p.5

SMC maps antiwar action p.6

BERKELEY VICTORY

— see page 3 —

By Elizabeth Barnes

BERKELEY, July 4, 1968—I'm writing this from Telegraph Avenue, "free territory of Berkeley." Thousands of people are here in a jubilant celebration of the victory for freedom of speech and assembly won yesterday.

It is a combination mass 4th of July celebration, political rally, and general assertion of the rights of citizens to meet together without fear of police attack.

On this same section of Telegraph, just six days ago, police were using tear gas to break up a lawful, peaceful demonstration in support of the French students and workers.

It took a week of taking to the streets and of pressuring the city council to win the right to have Telegraph blocked off for today's rally. And the city council hedged up until the last minute before giving in.

Two days ago, after a public meeting of the city council which was attended by 1,500 people, the council actually voted 5-4 against giving the Avenue over to the protesters. But, yesterday, after 2,000 people gathered in the Civic Auditorium and pledged that they would hold their rally on Telegraph today regardless of what the council said, the city fathers granted their demands and voted to close off the street.

Today there may be as many as five

thousand people on Telegraph. The scene is one of balloons, red flags, rock bands, tables of political literature, free food, button salesmen, flowers, and Free Huey signs.

As you approach the crowd from the North, the first thing you see is a middle-aged woman in a flaming red dress directing traffic. As you move toward the crowd you pass by the Granma Bookstore and Young Socialist Alliance headquarters which has a huge sign over it reading, "Two, three, many Berkeleys—Join the YSA."

Then you see signs stapled on police barricades saying, "Telegraph is Ours" and a huge banner spreading across the street which reads, "Amnesty Now." It refers to the many persons arrested and indicted during the week. Some are still in jail and people are circulating in the crowd, collecting bail money.

In the late afternoon, people gathered around the sound truck for a political rally. Speakers included Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver, movement leader Peter Camejo of the Young Socialist Alliance, Jack Bloom, a student in sociology who also has been in the leadership of the movement during the past week, Ralph Schoenman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and Paul Jacobs of the Peace and Freedom Party.

At the rally it was announced that Eldridge Cleaver has been asked to come to a hearing in San Quentin Prison which will consider revoking his parole. A rally has been called for Monday to protest against this.

Photo, this page, by David Warren, of victory celebration on Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue.

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$3 a year; Canada and Latin America, \$3.50; other foreign, \$4.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$9.00; all other countries, \$14.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$12.50; Latin America, \$23.00; Europe, \$27.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$32.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 32—No. 28

126

Friday, July 12, 1968

Johnson's new war tax

The Johnson tax hike, passed by the Senate on June 21 and signed into law by the President the next day, will increase opposition to the Vietnam war.

The new law provides for a 10 percent increase in individual income taxes, retroactive to April 1. Since it adds an equal percentage to all tax bills, regardless of size, it diminishes the difference between the tax rates on low and high incomes.

The new tax hike is directly related to the rising cost of the escalating Vietnam war. Less than two weeks before the tax bill was finally passed, the House of Representatives approved a "supplemental" military appropriation that provided for an increase of almost one-third in Vietnam war spending for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

The increase is, in short, a means of shifting the burden of ever mounting war costs onto the backs of the masses of the working people.

In an associated move, the Senate approved a budget cut of \$6 billion. By far the largest slice—\$2.9 billion—was taken from agencies involved in slum-clearance and antipoverty programs. The war is thus rapidly liquidating even the token social and economic concessions that have been wrested from the nation's rulers by the poorest, predominantly black, sections of the population.

These developments cannot fail to increase popular opposition to the war. While war-induced inflation erodes real wages, a war-caused tax increase reduces them further. While living conditions in the ghettos steadily deteriorate, war-determined budget cuts decimate the window dressing of token slum-clearance and antipoverty programs.

It is the job of the antiwar movement to continue to reach out and mobilize the increasing number of Americans who are fed up with this war.

New works from Merit Publishers

The Case of Leon Trotsky

Publication date: Aug. 1, 1968 \$7.95 674 pp.cloth

Long out of print, **The Case of Leon Trotsky** will be an important addition to your Marxist library. This is the transcript of Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission inquiry into the Moscow Trials. Here is a partial list of the subjects covered: Trotsky's career as a revolutionist; the history of the Bolshevik party after the revolution; the struggle of the Left Opposition; the Marxist attitude toward terrorism, democracy and socialism; the origins and nature of Stalinism; tactics in the fight against fascism and the difference between the united front and the popular front.

Black Nationalism and Socialism

By George Breitman and George Novack 50c 32 pages

Why black nationalism and socialism are not opposing but complimentary movements.

The Black Ghetto

By Robert Vernon 50c 32 pages

This third printing is expanded to include **Watts and Harlem**.

order from:

Department M 12
Merit Publishers
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Pain-killer from Dow

Philadelphia, Pa.

I thought you might be interested in this item.

I recently received from Dow Chemical Company a stuffed toy—a dog with one paw neatly wrapped in gauze—as an advertising gimmick for their newest veterinary anesthetic, which they are sure will aid me (and my animals) in my research. This gift brings to mind the following comments:

(1) If only Dow would show the same concern for human beings that they show for canines.

(2) Although their sales department is creative, they are not very discriminating. I am one of 12 students who recently won a battle with the University of Pennsylvania administration, forcing them to drop charges growing out of a November sit-in protesting the presence of Dow recruiters on campus.

David Oden, Instructor
Department of Psychology
University of Pennsylvania

Dow boycott

Detroit, Mich.

Please print the information on Dow from the enclosed *Newsletter* of the Detroit Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam:

"Dow Chemical Corp. was confronted by CALCAV as to its policy of making napalm. This product is being used to kill people and crops in Vietnam and other countries. Our protest was only one step in confronting Dow. *One other means of protesting* this company's policy would be to boycott the following products (this is a partial list).

"Cliffchar charcoal products, Dow bathroom cleaner, Dow latex, Dow oven cleaner, Dowpon dry cleaning solvent, Dowgene wormer, Emdee margarine, Handi-Wrap, Neo-Polycin antibiotic ointment, Saran Wrap, Sight Savers, Shoe Savers, Dowclor, Styrofoam, Dow crab-grass killer, Dow general weed killer, Dowpon grass killer, Premerge weed killer, Trelone-Trizone fumigants, Trolene-Tydex insecticides, Bay gasoline, Sentinel antifreeze, ingredients in almost all aspirin except Bayer, Zip tape, Dowgard."

P. L.

Peaceful prosperity

San Francisco, Calif.

The *Saturday Evening Post* is usually a rather reactionary publication, but occasionally, in an outburst of conscience or right thinking, its editors publish an article or editorial which really tells it like it is. In the issue of June 15, there is an article by Ralph E. Lapp entitled "The Weapons Industry is a Menace," which attacks the military-industrial complex with such passionate intensity that one finds it difficult to believe one is not reading some leftist antiwar publication.

The gist of the essay is that, although this country already has enough weapons and war machines stockpiled to destroy all our "enemies" several times over, the government continues to spend many billions of dollars annually to produce more and bigger and more complex weaponry. The link between the military-industrial complex and its twin, industrial capitalism, is not established, but

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

MERIT PUBLISHERS
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Of Dow, dogs and children

it is obvious to any intelligent reader.

We are creating a Frankenstein monster which may or may not crush our "enemies," but almost certainly, in the long run, will destroy its creators.

Doesn't anyone realize that a more solid and lasting prosperity could be assured if the government, which is really we, the people, in microcosm, were to take half those billions and create a huge agricultural complex, stretching from coast to coast, and begin producing food instead of armaments?

It seems to me, in trying to win friends and influence people throughout the world, it would be much more practical and certainly more gratifying to try and feed the hungry children of other nations instead of burning them to death.

Dale Rasmussen

SWP: Only party For working class

New York, N.Y.

Now is the time for socialism. The Socialist Workers Party has the program to get the people out of this stinking, war-capitalist mess.

The Socialist Workers Party has a solution for the agriculture problem. It will produce for the needs of the people and pay the farmers for an industrial standard of living—including hospital costs and fringe benefits.

In industry, the Socialist Workers Party will reduce the hours of labor. It will develop and provide a construction program for industrial expansion, for housing and recreation, for hospitals and for care of the elderly.

The Socialist Workers Party will end the genocidal capitalist war. Do not be misled by the ballyhoo for the capitalist war-parties. Only the Socialist Workers Party is the party for the working class. Vote and work for socialism.

Otto Thomas

Mistranslation

New York, N.Y.

I don't think the revolutionary French students, who are quite

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

sophisticated politically, would claim that "capitalism is dead"—as your translation of the placard on p. 2 of the June 28 *Militant* would indicate.

What the poster says is "capitalism is dying," which is quite different—and more correct.

Your coverage of events in France has been too fine to allow your credibility to be marred by a careless translation.

R. S.

Open minded

Cherry Hill, N.J.

So you claim to be in sympathy with the "French Revolutionaries"?

You claim you feel the "black man" is being denied his rights as a citizen and a human being. You also claim you are against the war in Vietnam, against violence, hatred, etc., etc.

If you oppose all of these things, why are you preaching violence, hatred and disaffection, not to mention anarchy, in this 10-cent rag you call a newspaper?

The very name of your paper in my mind aroused suspicion. I pride myself on having an open mind, on wanting the underprivileged to get a better shake, and I would like to see some changes in the present administration. However, after reading several issues of your hate-propaganda rag, I feel that your way is definitely not the answer.

You may print my full name.

(Name illegible)

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Atascadero: YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Colusa: YSA, John Montgomery, 1107 Jay St., Colusa 95932.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 872-1612.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, c/o Lyles, 638 E. Missouri, Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, 2402 Calvert St., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Mike Maniskalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Irving Sherman, 26 Willett St., Albany 12210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105 (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

INTERVIEW WITH PETER CAMEJO

The Berkeley battle

The following interview with Peter Camejo was obtained by Elizabeth Barnes on July 3 in Berkeley, Calif.

Camejo is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from California, and is one of the principal leaders of the movement at the University of California campus in Berkeley.

Elizabeth Barnes: How did the struggle in Berkeley begin?

Peter Camejo: The six-day battle that just took place in Berkeley began with a police attack on a demonstration organized by the Young Socialist Alliance in solidarity with the French students and workers. The demonstration was called for Haste and Telegraph Avenue because this is the best location for a political rally in the campus community.

When we called it, we took all the legal steps needed. We got a sound permit, the only permit you need for a sidewalk rally.

We feared we might have an overflow crowd so we went to the city council and asked them to assure us that police would not attack the demonstrators if there was some overflow into the street.

A street rally called by the Vietnam Day Committee April 12, 1966, was attacked by police and we did not want this to happen again. So, if it turned out that there was a large crowd we wanted the monitors to be able to close off the street.

The council refused to even consider the possibility of closing off the street and acted in an extremely hostile manner.

Various organizations were supporting this rally in addition to the YSA. Among them were the Peace and Freedom Party, Black Panther Party, the Movement, the Independent Socialist Club, the Tricontinental Student Association, the Iranian students and other groups.

Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton sent a letter from prison to the rally.

The local Berkeley daily papers started to take note of the rally and ran headlines geared to intimidate people from coming by claiming that there was a threat of possible violence.

Monitors

What actually happened at the demonstration was that the YSA organized monitors in order to attempt not to violate any laws, although we felt it was perfectly within our rights to hold a rally in the streets. We didn't want the people at the meeting hurt by any possible police attack.

There were close to a thousand people there and the sidewalks were crowded, but the monitors were careful to keep people off the streets and on the sidewalk. At one point, though, there were a few people who ran out in the street and sat down.

It had been decided at two open meetings held to plan the demonstration that we would try to keep the street clear. So the monitors moved quickly to get people out of the street.

It was a small incident, but the police used it as a pretext to claim that they had to disperse the crowd, and 20 or so cops moved down the street toward the demonstration. The police then announced that the gathering was an "unlawful assembly" and ordered everyone to leave. I then

asked that Mayor Johnson and Police Chief Beale, who were in the crowd, step forward so that we could discuss and work out the situation without a police attack. The mayor refused to come forward, but the chief of police did.

By that time the monitors were lined up, linked arm in arm, along the street and everyone was on the sidewalk. I pointed this out to the chief of police and asked him on what basis he could attack our demonstration, and to please reconsider. He agreed to that, and asked for two minutes to think it over. He and several other policemen walked off to discuss it, but when they came back, they repeated their stand that the rally was "illegal."

Do Not Disperse

Of course, nobody left. And a line of ministers lined up in front of the police and pleaded with them not to attack.

When the police started to move against the crowd, the monitors told people to withdraw rather than engage the police directly, but not to disperse or leave the area.

The police then did something which was new for Berkeley—they opened up with tear gas. That's when the fighting began. As the crowd began to run, the police ran after them. The demonstrators in some cases began to build barricades to defend themselves, with wood from construction sites or whatever they could get their hands on.

Then the police used a new tactic we've never seen here before. They would enter an area where people were gathered, and from speeding cars, sometimes going as fast as 30 or 40 miles an hour, they would launch grenades. It was dangerous at this time to be young and to be walking in the streets in any sizable group, because these carloads of police could attack at any time.

Many students retreated onto the campus and built a huge bonfire there. The fighting went on for several hours.

Elizabeth Barnes: How did you get organized to fight this attack by the police?

Peter Camejo: It was clear that the police had violated our constitutional right to free assembly. The very presence of the police, the fact that they were massing two blocks up from the rally, intimidated people from coming.

The next day a mass meeting was called to chart plans for protesting the police attack. Five hundred people came.

At this meeting we went over the fact that in every city in California streets have been closed by the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties in the recent primary. Specifically, we referred to Ted Kennedy, who came to Berkeley, spoke from a microphone without a sound permit, clogged up two major streets at rush hour—and even stopped a train, the same train that the Vietnam Day Committee once tried to stop a while ago.

Kennedy had no permit at all and, of course, he was not indicted, nor did the police attack or tear-gas him. Why is it, when he had not bothered to get a permit, or to go before the city council as we did, that his demonstration was not attacked? It was clear that this represented a prejudice against the views being presented at



photo by Hermes

TEAR GAS. Scene at corner of Telegraph and Bancroft, night of June 28.

our rally.

At this rally I took the position that we had to fight for our rights, that rights are never given and that you have to win them by fighting for them, and that in order to win we would have to take direct action.

We then decided to go into the Telegraph and Haste area to begin another rally. We had a sound permit that covered that area. We marched down Telegraph and filled the street around Haste and Telegraph. As a result, that whole section of Telegraph became blocked off, and pretty soon a rock band brought by the Resistance came and started playing.

Then it became evident that police were beginning to mass in the area. At the same time the crowd grew much larger. Hundreds and hundreds of people, primarily students, began to pour into the area to back up those already there. We estimate there were around 2,000 people.

Barricades

Barricades began to go up as people began to seek ways to slow up any police advance. They used sawhorses, trash cans, beams from construction sites, news stands, whatever was around.

The mayor then appeared in the crowd and asked us to go to a nearby parking lot where he could debate me on the question of the constitutional issues involved. He was doing what we call "playing a Lindsay," that is, walking among the people, trying to appear very concerned.

We called everybody in the area together. By that time we were beginning to see that we had been thoroughly surrounded by the police. We placed this fact before the crowd, and we told them about the mayor's offer. We then had a vote which was fairly decisive in deciding to stay.

The mayor stayed around for a while, and then two of the mayor's aides came and told him, "the time's come, let's go"; and so then we knew the attack was coming pretty soon.

The police came by surprise—they charged down the street at us with no advance warning, and this began the second night of fighting, which was shorter but much more intensive than the night before. The students and young people fought much harder.

During the evening the banks and other large businesses had their windows broken. There was sporadic fighting throughout the town. People went down into the business district.

From the beginning of the police raid, the cops were indiscriminate in whom they attacked. They continued this policy when they fanned out through the town. In the south campus area, for example, police would suddenly pull up next to people who were standing outside their homes—many of them who were just curious and had come out to see what was going on. The cops would speed over, jump out and start beating them up. They would even chase

people inside their houses and start beating them up.

These endless attacks and police harassment of people began to turn the tide of public opinion in favor of the demonstrators.

Curfew

The next day a curfew was declared. The curfew was based on a law which was originally conceived during the Second World War for the purpose of protecting the area during air raids. With the curfew beginning, we knew we were at a new stage of the fight.

That day a group of people from the Berkeley radical community, including Peter Frank, an attorney from the Peace and Freedom Party; Max Scherr, the editor of the *Berkeley Barb*; Bruce Rappaport, an independent graduate student in sociology and myself met with the mayor, the vice-mayor and the city manager, who had declared the curfew.

We argued with them for two hours, and they refused to give on anything. We proposed that if they agreed to lift the curfew, we would cancel the demonstration for that day. And we also asked that they agree in principle that we be allowed eventually, after working out some sort of due process, to have Telegraph Avenue for rallies. We specifically asked for July 4. They refused this also.

We then went to the mass meeting, which by this time was up to almost 800 people. We agreed at this meeting to act again, but this time to act with caution, because the police were now using this new tactic of the curfew.

By the time the meeting ended there were police stationed on every block in the area, which was the campus area. We marched

(Continued on page 12)

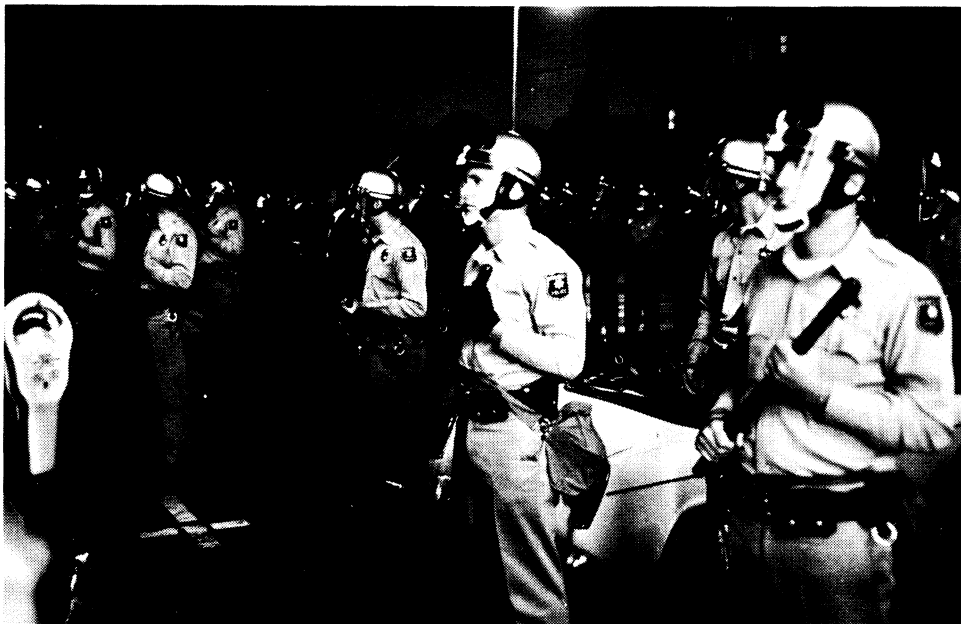


photo by Hermes

READY TO ATTACK. Cops line up on Telegraph Ave. in preparation for attack on peaceful rally June 28.



photo by Dave Warren

PETER CAMEJO. Speaking to rally on campus.

Black political conference

By Derrick Morrison

NEWARK—When the Newark Black Political Convention was adjourned June 23, it signified that this community had taken a big step forward in organizing black people to fight for political power.

The three days of deliberations, organized by the United Brothers of Newark, which is spearheaded by LeRoi Jones, were very much together in direction and planning.

The first two days were devoted to workshops on the various aspects of an overall political program. The principal speakers were LeRoi Jones; Sonny Carson of Brooklyn CORE; public educator Herman Ferguson, recently convicted on frame-up charges of conspiring to kill certain civil rights leaders; and Ron Karenga of the US organization in Los Angeles.

On the third day of the convention, an overall political program was ratified by the delegates. Then candidates were selected to run on this program for two openings on the city council. The conference wound up with a speech by Phil Hutchings, program director of SNCC.

The total attendance at the convention was over 1,000. In the evening, during the principal speeches, 500 to 600 people were seated in the auditorium of Kinney Junior High School. About 100 delegates representing over 200 organizations attended the deliberations. Although the young brothers and sisters composed the

need, people who think about benefiting the black community. Seventy percent of the police force should be black."

On narcotics, he said, "Heroin does not grow on trees. It is refined in factories and produced to enslave black people."

He said that black "children are not getting educated, but getting trained to be house servants and field servants. Trained to be cannon fodder in Vietnam."

On the following day Herman Ferguson explained what had happened at his trial and how the whole thing was a total farce. From there he launched into a description of Negro politics and black politics. He described Negro politics as "window dressing—a few politicians here and there. Negro politics ends when the polls close on election day. Negro politicians are put into office by the machine, not by black people. Negro politics is antiblack and anti-Negro." He used Harlem Democrat Percy Sutton and Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes as examples of Negro politicians. "Black politics," he said, "is a manifestation of black power, which leads us into black nationhood. . . . Radical problems require a radical solution. Black politics addresses itself to radical surgery."

Education and Politics

In his attack on the public educational system, Ferguson pointed out that "public education re-enforces the self-hatred of the black child and the superiority of the white child. Black politics understands that you do not separate education from politics. Education and politics must go hand in hand. The problems of education require a political solution. The school curriculum is Anglo-Saxon based, not African-American based." He called for working with the Nation of Islam to develop a solution to problems of education.

Ferguson also mentioned his campaign for U.S. senator, which is being run by the black caucus of the Freedom and Peace Party of New York State.

That night, Carson and Karenga spoke. Carson, dressed in a combat dashiki, praised Newark for setting an example for the rest of the country. He dwelt on the situation in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville, New York, school district where, according to Carson, the local governing board composed of black parents fired "19 pig teachers."

After "331 pig teachers" walked out in support of the 19, Carson said, "'Adolph' Shanker [president of the United Federation of Teachers] and Donovan [head of the Board of Education] got the shock of their lives when the governing board fired all 350 pig teachers." At present the parents are running the schools, and come next September, Carson said, the community will be prepared to keep the teachers out of the schools by any means necessary.

Karenga came on stating that 1968 is the year of the Black Panther since it is an election year. He pointed out that the Black Panther originated in Lowndes County, Ala. Lowndes County, he said, was not a failure but a lesson. He stressed the necessity of forming black united fronts in order to unite black people.

To the advocates of guerrilla warfare, he said that revolution has to be waged on all fronts, below ground and above ground. Fighting for public office is not a cure-all but a step forward in politicizing the masses.

Karenga developed five criteria that would separate a black politician from a Negro politician. The first criterion was that the black politician would be accountable to the black community, not to the Man.

The second criterion was that the black politician recognizes that the system is totally bankrupt and should be destroyed. The job of the black politician is to deliver this message to those who refuse to listen to the same message on the street corners.

The third criterion was that the black politician practices the politics of disruption; that is, he brings up all types of controversial issues in the interest of the black community. This type of politics will show the people what they really have to do to take power.

The fourth criterion was that the black politician is politically astute, acting neither as a Democrat nor as a Republican. You can use one of the party labels, but don't take it seriously. (This criterion was his weakest, in the opinion of this writer, as it did not clearly break with the racist Democratic and Republican parties.)

The fifth and last criterion was that



NEWARK, JULY, 1967. National Guard was called in to brutally suppress rebellion of black people.

the black politician supports cultural nationalism.

Closing speech

After the delegates ratified the program and selected their candidates, Phil Hutchings gave the final speech. This was Hutchings' first major address since his election to the position of program-director of SNCC. He is also a member of the United Brothers.

In the beginning of his speech, Hutchings called for the formation of black united fronts. These united fronts, he stated, serve four purposes. First, they serve as an umbrella of protection for everybody, militants and moderates alike. The moderates need the militants because they cannot speak directly to the people on the streets. The militants need the moderates because they do not have an organized base.

Secondly, the fronts serve as an example of black people coming together. Thirdly, they provide a forum for discussion and debate of every viewpoint in the black community. Finally, the fronts serve as a local base for national hook-ups.

He mentioned two obstacles to the establishment of real black control of the black community. One is the control that whites exercise over the county and state. To resolve this, black people would have to take over the country. The second is the existence of capitalism, which he described as updated feudalism, another word for slavery.

Black Panther

Noting that there is no difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, Hutchings called for the formation of a mass black party with the Black Panther as its symbol.

In regard to picking up the gun, he emphasized the need first for political education, an education that would provide goals and objectives for the use of the gun.

He ended the meeting by calling for support to the Vietnamese in their heroic struggle against American imperialism.

On the second day, reports from the workshops were given to the convention. These reports were mimeographed and formed the basis of the candidates' political platform.

The workshop on city financing passed several resolutions. One of these resolutions stated: "The city of Newark has 100 percent more people in it during the day as opposed to its night population. We provide many services to the people that come to work

here during the day and leave again at night. Resolution: Institute a commuter payroll tax on nonresidents." This workshop also proposed a head tax to be levied at the Newark airport.

The City Housing and Land Workshop passed resolutions opposing the construction of route 75 and other highways that would cut through the black community. They also proposed that the Model Cities Program be under the direction and control of the black community. They proposed further that new housing be "planned and built by black people in the neighborhoods and with black contractors and workers."

The proposals of the Urban Education Workshop boiled down to a demand for black community control of the schools.

Narcotics addiction, day and night care centers, and the community health services were discussed in the Health and Welfare Workshop.

The Law Enforcement Workshop called for the development of a police-community relations program, hiring of more black policemen, and a complete review and revision of the judicial system.

A Black Labor Committee to deal with the labor problems of black people was called for by the workshop on employment.

The formation of a black united front was suggested by the Political Organizing Workshop.

On the third and last day, after unanimously approving these reports, the convention dealt with the selection of candidates. The leading idea was to unite the black community behind two black candidates for the two openings on the city council in the upcoming nonpartisan elections. If an aspirant lost at this convention, he then would not run.

When each of the candidates had spoken and been questioned by the convention, the 79 delegates present overwhelmingly selected Donald Tucker as the candidate for the East Ward, and Theodore Pinkney as candidate for the councilman-at-large position.

Lucius Thompkins, a Republican, and Leon Ewing, a councilman recently appointed by Mayor Addonizio, lost the support of the convention. The question and answer period revealed that they were not willing to abide by the decisions of the convention.

Both Tucker and Pinkney are nationalists now working in the antipoverty program in Newark.



Leroi Jones

majority, at least 40 percent of the convention was over 30. This meant that the convention represented a cross-section of the black community. Brothers dressed in black dashikis served as the security guards.

Leroi Jones

Jones was the speaker the first night. He ran down why the convention was called and outlined its objectives.

He said, "As black people, we have never participated in the democratic processes. . . . Why do we need a political convention? Everybody knows that we are the majority in Newark. . . . We will get candidates who are sent here by the federal government, Standard Oil, and Time magazine. . . . We want to cut the field down so that only one black candidate runs for each position. . . . The city is controlled by white people, white people in corporations, people who have never been in Newark. . . . We want to govern ourselves; what we want is the power for black people to control their community."

He stated that the people attending the convention were in the vanguard, and that by 1970 black people could establish control of Newark by electing their own mayor.

Commenting on the police department, he said, "To quote from Huey Newton, 'The police department is an occupation army.' It is here to protect white people's belongings. Black policemen are what we

MURDER IN MEMPHIS

Martin Luther King and the Future of the Black Liberation Struggle

Articles by Paul Boutelle, George Novack, Joseph Hanson, and Clifton DeBerry

25¢

merit

873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

publishers

De Gaulle's ballot victory

By Joseph Hansen

The political meaning of the outcome of the French elections in the two rounds on June 23 and June 30 was indicated by the elation of the Gaullists and the glumness of the top leaders of the Communist Party as the voting pattern became clear.

Little change was to be noted in the overall figures in the first round, 22,539,743 voting on June 23 as against 22,902,224 on March 5, 1967—about 80 percent of the registered electorate this year compared with almost 81 percent last year. But among the various parties, a shift occurred which, while it was not a great one, was sufficient in the light of the preceding events to be ballyhooed by de Gaulle's partisans as a great triumph for the bonapartist general.



Bidault

De Gaulle's party, Union for the Defense of the Republic, received 9,663,605 votes (43.65%) in comparison with 8,448,982 votes (37.73%) last year.

The vote for the Communist Party was 4,435,357 (20.03%) this year and 5,039,032 (22.51%) last year.

The bourgeois center parties as well as the social democratic Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FGDS) suffered losses.

The most significant gains, probably, were registered by the United Socialist Party. In 1967 its vote was 495,412 (2.21%); on June 23 it won 874,212 votes (3.94%). Its success is attributed to the fact that it was the only party running candidates in the election which sympathized with the students who demonstrated in the streets.

A certain polarization was thus evident among the electorate, the PSU gaining at one pole, the Gaullists at the other. While the polarization, in the final analysis, reflected the acute class struggle of the preceding weeks, it should be noted, and noted well, that it reflected that struggle but dimly and with a high degree of distortion, magnifying the size and weight of the reaction and greatly reducing that of the revolutionary forces.

The real relationship of class forces in France was still further distorted by the outcome of the runoff elections June 30. With the official figures not yet available, *Le Monde* (July 2) noted that in the first round, the total Gaullist vote was around 10,500,000 and that of the left 9,000,000; while in the second round, the Gaullist vote was about 6,700,000 and the leftist vote 6,100,000. Nevertheless under the electoral provisions established by de Gaulle, this difference was translated into a landslide for de Gaulle in the National Assembly.

The "orthodox" Gaullists gained 97 seats, bringing their total up to 294, well above the 244 needed for an absolute majority in the 487-member parliament. The "dissident" Gaullists (Independent Republicans) gained 21 seats, bringing their total to 64. Thus the Gaullists of various stripes ended up with 358 seats.

The Communist Party lost 39 seats, dropping from 73 to 34. The FGDS lost

61 of its 121 seats and the PSU lost the 3 it held.

The liberal bourgeois party, the Centre Progres et Democratie Moderne, lost 15 of its 52 seats.

To properly understand the meaning of the elections, it is necessary to place them in the context of the May events.

At the height of the upsurge, ten million workers—two-thirds of the labor force—were on strike. Occupying the plants, they held the key industries in their hands, along with transportation, the retail outlets and the banking system. They were joined by the employees of the state-run communications system, including the postal workers. The government administration was suspended in mid-air, and even the police began showing signs of disaffection.

The farmers sympathized with this movement and advanced their own set of demands.

The ranks of the armed forces displayed the greatest interest in the progress of the upsurge, and the generals were reliably reported to have told de Gaulle they could not be depended on to put down strikers.

Not the least important element in this situation was the students, both high school and university. It was they, in fact, who had precipitated the entire crisis by carrying their struggle for educational reforms to the streets, occupying the schools on a nationwide basis, battling the police sent to put them down, and setting such a militant example in general that they inspired the working class to move into action.

The students indicated again and again through their actions, their slogans, and their press that they understood the key issue was government power and that they were prepared to go through to the end.

Revolutionary Action Committees

Revolutionary action committees began forming throughout the country, constituting incipient organs of "dual power" in opposition to the capitalist state. A pro-capitalist commentator said that as many as 600 such committees, ranging in size from 30 to 40 persons, were reported to have been formed in Paris alone. A leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth), which was very active in the work of these committees and in helping to extend them, put the figure at between 300 and 400 committees in Paris, but with their size ranging from 30 to 70 persons and in some instances considerably higher.

In a few places, like Nantes, committees of this kind virtually ran the town, the capitalist government being reduced to impotence.

For about a week it would have been possible for a mass revolutionary party to take power with a minimum of commotion and disorder and France today would have constituted the first industrially advanced country to have gone over to socialism.

But such a party did not exist in France. The Communist Party, while a mass party that presumes to speak in the name of communism, is not revolutionary. The groups that stand on revolutionary programs, the most important being the Internationalist Communist Party, the French section of the Fourth International, do not have a mass following.

Time was required to gain that following, to organize and extend the revolutionary action committees and to give them national cohesion and structure.

During the crucial week, the capitalist rulers of France displayed panic and even despair. Events appeared to have slipped completely beyond their control and everything they did appeared to have the opposite result from what they intended, serving in each instance to stir up the masses still more. As *Le Monde* put it in an editorial July 2 warning against overoptimism in judging the triumph of de Gaulle's "authority" in the elections, only a month previously that same authority appeared "to its partisans as well as to its opponents and to the general himself to be hanging by only a thread."

Fortunately for the general and his partisans that thread was not cut. The bourgeois rulers soon determined what the main weakness of the revolutionary forces was—lack of time to construct a leadership capable of cutting the thread. They

regained their nerve, and through de Gaulle set about to recover their mastery.

De Gaulle did three very important things. First of all, under guise of going to his country home to consider resigning, he set off May 29 in his helicopter for conferences with the heads of the army, including the notorious General Massu, who was instrumental in putting de Gaulle in power 10 years ago.

The generals agreed to back de Gaulle by armed force. They at once began deploying troops and tanks in the direction of Paris. This news, while it caught the headlines in the press outside of the country, received but routine attention in the French press where it was pictured as merely part of maneuvers scheduled long before. This way of presenting the troop movements was intended to lull the public so as not to alarm and precipitate action by the masses before the troops were in position to attack.

De Gaulle was reported to have promised his generals to release from prison and to rehabilitate all the ultrareactionary figures serving time or in exile because of their conspiracy to bring a military dictatorship to power in France 7 years ago. These included such unsavory men as Georges Bidault, Raoul Salan, etc.

Bonapartism

De Gaulle delivered in accordance with his promise. No real concession was involved in this, however, since de Gaulle had obviously decided to do everything in his power to build up the most reactionary forces in France to counter the unexpected upsurge of the working class.

Such a maneuver is typical of bonapartist figures like de Gaulle, who seek to maintain power by balancing between the class forces. The shift toward the left in the relation of class forces in France threw de Gaulle off balance and threatened to topple him overnight. To rectify the balance from his point of view required drastically strengthening the right.

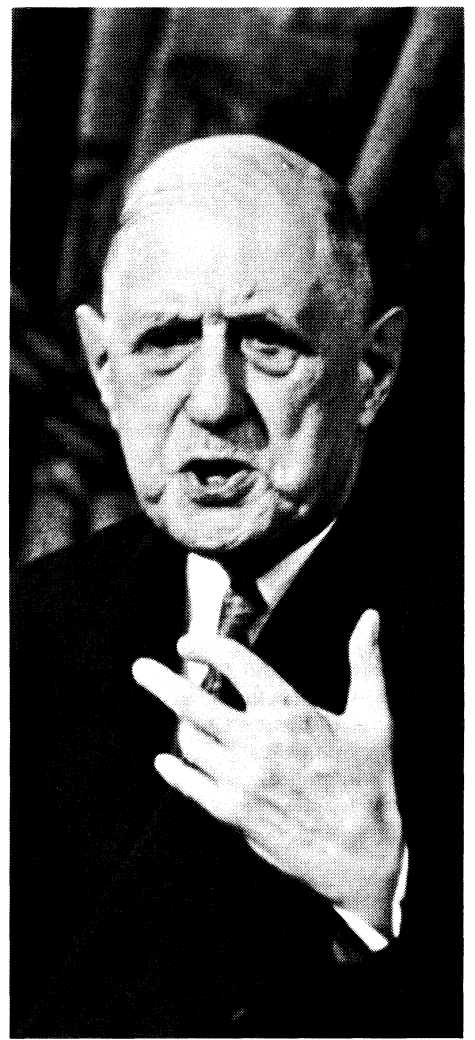
Thus beside turning to the army, he also called for the formation of "civic action" groups and gave the word to organize a street demonstration in Paris May 30, making it as huge as possible.

It cannot be said that de Gaulle suffers from parliamentary illusions. His entire policy was to organize for a showdown in the streets.

How well this would have turned out had de Gaulle been faced with a mass party fortunate enough to have a leadership of the caliber provided by Lenin and Trotsky for the Russian workers is another question. It is dubious that the forces at de Gaulle's disposal could have done much in face of the mighty power of the French working class with the entire industrial system in its hands.

Now we come to de Gaulle's second important move. He dissolved the National Assembly and ordered new elections to be held within a few weeks.

The timing is important. All the reactionaries, the right wing of the middle class, the whole kit and caboodle of the forces of "law and order," would still have fresh in their minds the fear they experienced when the capitalist system seemed about to crash. They would thus be inclined to get out and vote and to vote for de Gaulle



De Gaulle

no matter what their private opinions of him might be.

In the other camp, with luck some of the workers might feel satisfied with their newly won wage gains and look rather apathetically at the elections which promised nothing new. Others would look at the election as a let-down or anticlimax after the events of May. Still others would agree with the revolutionary groups that approval of the election equalled a betrayal of the revolution.

De Gaulle's most important calculation was to provide the Communist Party with a plausible reason for getting the strikers back to work and off of the streets—away from the road of revolution.

Subsequent events showed that de Gaulle understood the bureaucrats of the Communist Party to perfection. They were the first to announce that they were accepting the "concession" de Gaulle had made "under pressure" and that they intended to meet his "challenge."

De Gaulle, it should be noted, also sought to meet the "challenge" of the Communist Party, and, more importantly, the entire revolutionary vanguard. In his campaign propaganda, he introduced an "anticapitalist" note, saying that he stood for a "third way," different from both communism and capitalism. He talked about "participation" by the workers in industry and the students in the universities; and he promised sweeping educational reforms, the precise nature of which he left conveniently vague. This was pure demagoguery, of course, smacking of the kind of demagoguery advanced by Mussolini and Hitler in their time and by Napoleon III a century ago.

The CP bureaucrats worked like zealots to end the general strike and get the capitalist system back into smooth running order. Strikes, it is well known, interfere with elections. They worked with similar

(Continued on page 8)



COPS AND BUREAUCRATS. Slogan on banner reads: "The Revolution Will Not Get Through!" Cartoon, which appeared in second issue of revolutionary student magazine *L'Enrage*, reflects French revolutionists' view that Stalinist leaders of General Federation of Labor (CGT) worked with Gaullist regime to block socialist revolution.

Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, went to France to cover the events there for *Intercontinental Press* and *The Militant*. He was arrested by de Gaulle's police and expelled from the country just before the first round of elections.

Student Mobilization maps fall action against war

By Harry Ring and Lew Jones

NEW YORK—The Continuations Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, meeting here June 28-29, reaffirmed SMC's policy of organizing mass demonstrations for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, and reaffirmed that the coalition is based unambiguously on the principle of political nonexclusion.

A New York based minority grouping, which had sought unsuccessfully to scrap these policies, walked out of the conference to establish a new multi-issue organization called the Radical Organizing Committee. (See story page 7.)

The conference was attended by some 400 delegates and observers from campuses and committees across the na-

tion. The split-off group said 85 of these had signed their walkout declaration. Some 65 attended its meeting that night. Of these, only 11 said they were from outside New York.

The Continuations Committee meeting was held as a result of a crisis which erupted in the student organization early in May. At that time a bloc sparked by some pacifists and the Communist Party used a mechanical majority on the SMC's Working Committee to bureaucratically impose a policy of political exclusion on the movement and to shift its focus away from its declared reason for being—opposition to the Vietnam war.

Tried to Dump Socialists

They began by firing Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton from the staff because

of their membership in the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA has consistently defended the principles laid down by SMC membership conferences that the organization must be an anti-Vietnam-war, non-exclusive coalition.

The exclusionary group in the New York Working Committee, which dubbed itself the "independent" caucus, tried to scrap these democratically arrived-at policies piecemeal and refused to call a previously mandated conference of the SMC where the dispute could be settled. Instead they called a Continuations Committee meeting in New York where they apparently felt they could pack the meeting and win some kind of formal cover for their actions.

When they realized that they faced repudiation even at the Continuations Committee meeting, which they had so carefully prepared, the exclusionists decided to walk out. They left on the first afternoon, without participating in the plenary political debate and before a single substantive vote was taken.

After their departure, discussion was concluded on a resolution submitted at the opening of the conference by Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton on behalf of the student antiwar action caucus. This caucus was organized in response to the exclusionist caucus, and it had met immediately prior to the Continuations Committee.

Five Points

The resolution (see text page 6) contained five points.

The first called for a national SMC conference to be held in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

The second point provided for a demonstrative return to the policy of nonexclusion by reinstating Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton as members of the SMC staff.

The third emphatically reaffirmed SMC's basic political position of fighting for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

This section of the resolution assessed

the current Paris talks as being used by the U.S. as a screen to cover further escalation of the war and declared, "We reject any action that would lend credence to the U.S. role in the Paris Negotiations."

The unanimously adopted resolution also called for endorsement of and active support to the Aug. 3 antiwar demonstration projected by the New York Parade Committee, the Aug. 10 Peace Action demonstration in Chicago, and any possible similar demonstrations in other areas.

Fall Actions

The resolution further proposed a massive national demonstration in the fall in opposition to the war policies of both major parties.

This proposal was counterposed to the one now being put forward by various groups for a demonstration at the Democratic Party convention in August. Such a demonstration, the SMC said, could only be interpreted as a pro-McCarthy demonstration.

The exclusionist minority did not directly address itself to the political positions included in this resolution. Yet their actions made clear their opposition.

In previous articles about the dispute in SMC, we made the estimate that the exclusionist caucus was seeking to drive the YSA and others out of SMC as a step toward changing the basic political character of the movement. We said that as a result of the pressure of the election campaign (the desire to support McCarthy and other "peace" candidates) and the Paris talks, the Communist Party and some of the pacifists wanted to get away from mobilizing mass actions against the Vietnam war and to liquidate the antiwar movement into one more multi-issue formation.

In a sense it was rather surprising how rapidly this estimate was born out. After walking out of SMC, the exclusionists dropped any pretense of being interested in building an antiwar coalition. Their sole purpose, they made clear, was to establish

SMC policy resolution

The following is the text of the resolution presented to the Student Mobilization Committee Continuations Committee meeting by the student antiwar action caucus and adopted unanimously.

(1) To settle the differences in the Student Mobilization Committee we call for a national conference in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend. The only legitimate policy-making body of the SMC is a full national conference. Until now the exclusionists in the New York Working Committee have prevented such a conference, where a discussion of the issues should and must take place. Thus the call for the conference should be issued immediately—too much time has already been wasted.

(2) We demand a demonstrative return to nonexclusion by reinstating Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton to the SMC staff, a repudiation of the exclusionary actions taken in New York.

Nonexclusion must operate on all levels—participation in decision making and participation in the implementation of decisions. Specifically, all organizations should participate in the staff of the SMC—in fact, all organizations supporting the SMC should be encouraged to supply staff members, just as space on the staff must be reserved for nonaffiliated student activists.

We reject as demagogic the exclusionists' argument that Young Socialists in general and Kipp and Syd in particular have full rights if they may participate in decision making, but not in implementing decisions. This argument justifies exclusion and gives Young Socialists second class citizenship within the SMC.

(3) We emphatically reaffirm the basic political position of the antiwar movement—for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The Vietnamese have the right to determine their own future. American imperialism has no rights in Vietnam. It has absolutely nothing to negotiate there.

The Paris negotiations are being used by Washington as a screen for further escalation of the war. The negotiations are meant to disorient the antiwar movement in an election year. We will not fall for this ruse. We will retain our independence and continue our mass actions demanding withdrawal of troops.

The Vietnamese, of course, have every right to use the negotiations as they see fit. But our duty, as Americans committed to self-determination for Vietnam, is to press all the more tenaciously to bring the GIs home.

We reject any action that would lend credence to the U.S. role in the Paris negotiations. Our job is to expose Washington's war aims, not to try to convince the warmakers that if they were just a little more reasonable their aims could be negotiated.

(4) It is vital now, more than ever before, to mount increased mass action against the war. We support the August 3 demonstration in New York and the August 10 demonstration in Chicago as the proper type of response to Washington's aims in the negotiations. We call on all other areas to organize antiwar demonstrations during the Hiroshima anniversary period—demonstrations to bring the GIs home now. Organizing these demonstrations on a national scale is our single most important task in the summer, to which all our other work must be related.

In building these demonstrations we reaffirm the unique and basic character of the SMC; that is, we seek a reaffirmation of the SMC's reason for being—a united front coalition that unifies diverse individuals, groups and tendencies in mass action against the war.

(5) We call for massive antiwar actions in the fall for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, in opposition to the policies of both the Democratic and Republican war parties. We call for fall actions *instead* of a nebulous and politically disorienting demonstration at the Democratic Party convention in August, proposed by the National Mobilization Committee.

A demonstration at the Democratic Party convention would not be an antiwar demonstration. It would only be interpreted as a pro-McCarthy demonstration—by the press, by many of the participants, and by McCarthy himself. We should not let ourselves be used to gather forces for a pro-McCarthy demonstration. If McCarthy supporters want a pro-McCarthy demonstration, let them openly and honestly organize one, not under the guise of an antiwar demonstration.

We favor mass action, independent of the warmaking policies of the Democratic and Republican parties and their nominees. We can build an effective action by projecting a date in the fall, during the height of the interest in the election campaign, when the largest number of people can be influenced.

A national SMC conference on Labor Day should set the date, plan, and organize this antiwar action.

HIGH SCHOOL ANTIWAR

At the SMC conference, a group of New York high-school students, who supported the exclusionist caucus, made clear that they had no interest in building the SMC as an antiwar coalition, preferring to turn their attention to smaller issues which, they asserted, are of greater interest to high-school students.

Supporters of SMC policy within the high-school caucus insisted that, while it was necessary for radical activists to relate to the whole variety of issues concerning students, as a coalition the SMC's most valuable and unique function was that of turning out masses of students in antiwar actions.

As in the general conference, the difference in the two groupings was readily apparent. The exclusionists tried to have their views prevail through heavy-handed organizational measures. Meanwhile, the high-school supporters of the student antiwar action caucus fought for an exchange of political views.

The following resolution on these matters was reported to the closing session of the conference by Laurie Perkus of the New York High School Mobilization.

* * *

The crisis in the Student Mobilization Committee may have appeared to some to have been resolved at the Continuations Committee meeting of Saturday, June 29. Linda Morse, Art Goldberg and Brent Garren, spokesmen for the so-called "independent caucus" (exclusionary caucus), upon seeing that their policy of political exclusion would not be passed, staged a walkout.

For those of us who stayed behind, the fight continues. We have resolved to continue to build the most massive demonstrations to end the war and bring the GIs home from Vietnam that the U.S. government has ever seen.

The walkout occurred after the exclusionary caucus attempted various tactical

maneuvers to swing the majority of the delegate vote their way. But the most blatant of all the maneuvers came when the SMC exclusionists refused to discuss the major political issues involved in the crisis, substituting for such a discussion various time-consuming points.

After the SMC morning plenary, a high-school caucus was called by us, the members of the nonexclusionary caucus. There we encountered the same maneuvers attempted by the SMC exclusionists. The high-school caucus was chaired by two people, not even in high school, who settled procedural questions. When a non-high-school student, who happened to be a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was standing at the door of the caucus room merely to observe, he was told by exclusionist Brent Garren that he would have to leave at once, since the meeting was for high-school students only!

On May 25, at a meeting of the New York High School Student Mobilization Committee, a summer program of workshops was proposed. Some of these include: student power, high school organizing, racism in the New York school system, and, last but not least, a workshop on sex education! In a three page mailing later sent out by the NYHSSMC, not once were the words "Vietnam" or "war" mentioned. Even the committee's original title of "New York High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam" was changed to just "New York High School Student Mobilization Committee." All these moves point away from the direction in which the committee should be going.

In the high-school caucus, those of us speaking in support of the five-point resolution submitted by Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton to the student antiwar action caucus, tried constantly to keep the discussion on the political issues involved. We were faced with having to answer manufactured



photo by Ring

APRIL 27. High school students formed one of the major contingents in massive demonstration against the war in New York, and in other cities.

a new multi-issue organization. The idea of antiwar demonstrations received scant attention at their organizing meeting.

The majority who remained in the SMC, on the other hand, will continue to play a most valuable role in mobilizing a broad coalition of organizations and unaffiliated individuals for significant actions against the war. Taking their stand at a moment when others in the movement are retreating from this position gives added importance to their commitment.

The walkout, which occurred the first afternoon of the conference, symbolized the difference between the two groups.

As the exclusionists departed, they shouted in unison: "Up against the wall!" and exploded firecrackers. The several hundred antiwar activists who remained vigorously responded to this with: "Bring the troops home now!"

This incident typifies the contrast between the two groups. From the outset, the exclusionists had tried to achieve their political aims, not by spelling them out before the movement, but by organizational maneuvers.

First were the exclusionist firings. Then the refusal to call the mandated conference in the Midwest and the substitution of a Continuations Committee meeting in New York, the only place they had any strength at all. Then came an effort to pack the meeting with questionable delegates from New York. (A variety of organizations

previously not in contact with SMC suddenly sprouted at several college and high school campuses in the area.) When this was challenged and it was proposed to resolve the issue by simply utilizing the principle of one man, one vote, they bolted from the conference. Unwilling to stay and fight for their political positions, they left before a vote could even be taken on the procedural issue.

After the exclusionists' departure, the meeting acted on the previously reported resolution and established a provisional Working Committee with representatives from various parts of the country and with openings held for all those wishing to join in. Several temporary secretaries were also selected. At the slated Labor Day conference, it was agreed, a structure would be established and regular officers selected.

A delegation was sent to the meeting of the departed group asking them to participate in the coalition, either as previously or as a new affiliate.

During the period when the conference was split into two groups, Myron Shapiro of the Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam served as impartial chairman. After the one group left, he withdrew as chairman and Mark Gunther, chairman of the Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam, was elected chairman for the balance of the conference.

FIGHTERS TAKE FIRM STAND

charges against Kipp and Syd. Also, the high-school exclusionists raised issues totally unrelated to an antiwar organization (such as the need to organize strikes to allow girls to wear slacks to school), saying that "that's where the struggle is at." And finally, there was considerable red-baiting. We tried to focus the discussion on the Vietnam war; political exclusion in the SMC; the refusal by the SMC exclusionary caucus to call a national conference; and the need to build massive actions, such as the student strike and demonstrations against the war.

Two sets of resolutions came out of the high-school caucus. Only the exclusionist caucus resolution was allowed to be read and passed. It called for "organizing" not "mobilizing" in the high-schools, a reaffirmation of the policy of political nonexclusion, and a reaffirmation of the firing of Kipp and Syd from the SMC staff. This is the boldest contradiction of all.

We of the nonexclusionary high-school caucus submitted the following resolution to the Continuations Committee:

(1) We call for the reinstatement of Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton to the staff of the SMC.

(2) We reaffirm the policy of political nonexclusion in the SMC.

(3) We support the call for an SMC national conference.

(4) We demand adherence to national-conference mandates, passed unanimously in January in Chicago, to build mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

We do not believe that the members of the NYHSSMC exclusionary caucus represent the 250,000 New York City high-school students who struck and demonstrated against the war on April 26 and 27. Nor does the small clique in New York represent the national high-school antiwar movement.

Nor do we believe that most of the high-school students who walked out with Linda

Morse will be taken in by the hysteria of the Joe McCarthy variety that we witnessed in the high-school caucus yesterday, instigated by a small group of people who call themselves radicals, but who are in fact shifting more and more to the right.

We want to expose the Vietnam war, racism and the draft for what they really are. And the most militant way we can express our opposition to the suppression of the Vietnamese Revolution and our support of the right of self-determination for Vietnam, and protest the killing of over 25,000 GIs, is to get out and demonstrate in the streets of New York and in cities across the United States to bring the troops home now!

In light of the recent revolutionary upsurge in France, which involved thousands of high-school students, we propose that the high-school section of the antiwar movement become an international movement by calling for simultaneous high-school demonstrations in the cities of the U.S. and Europe to show our international solidarity with the Vietnamese.

We call upon all high-school students, regardless of political affiliation, to return to the tradition the antiwar movement has followed over the last three years, by uniting to build the high-school antiwar movement to bring the troops home now!

Laurie Perkus,	NYHSSMC
Arlene Lagares,	NYHSSMC
Roland Lagares,	NYHSSMC
Kenneth Bell,	NYHSSMC
Mark Rosensweig,	NYHSSMC
David Fine,	Wilmington, Del.
Peter Gellert,	Long Is. HSSMC
Gordon Fox,	Detroit HSSMC
Eric Sell,	Detroit HSSMC
Louise Goodman,	Detroit HSSMC
Dave Watson,	Detroit HSSMC
Steve Stewart,	Twin Cities HSSMC
Carrie Zinsel,	Cleveland SMC
Elinor Schuman,	Walton, NY
Fran Seigal,	Walton, NY

Pacifists, others, plan new radical grouping

By Robin Maisel

NEW YORK, July 2—The group which walked out of the Student Mobilization Committee Continuations Committee meeting June 29 has set up a new organization called the Radical Organizing Committee (ROC) which will "organize students around things they want to do."

A few hours after walking out of the SMC, the first meeting of the group took place in the basement of the Washington Square Methodist Church. About 65 people were present. Eleven of these said they were from outside New York.

A few members of the Young Socialist Alliance who had gone to observe the meeting were excluded after a good deal of discussion. Many at the meeting were disturbed by this action. Later in the evening the exclusion of YSA and Socialist Workers Party members from observing the meeting was reversed when Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for President, came to the church.

Upon his arrival the discussion centered around whether he should be excluded or allowed to stay. Clark Lobenstein of the University Christian Movement stated that the presence of Halstead was not disrupting the meeting, but that the meeting was disrupting itself by arguing over the question. A motion was then passed overwhelmingly to allow Halstead to stay.

The group then decided to meet the next day.

Second Meeting

Sunday morning, about 60 members of the walk-out group met.

Linda Morse outlined the agenda for the day. "We should discuss who we are, where we are going, what we are going to do and how we are going to organize ourselves."

The first item of business was the reception of a delegation from the Student Mobilization Committee. The delegation invited the group to join the SMC, either as an organization or as individuals, to carry on the work of building mass mobilizations to bring the troops home now.

Nancy Jewlett, chairman of the meeting and a member of the University Christian Movement (UCM), thanked the delegation for the invitation, but stated that a reply would have to wait until the new group was better organized.

A motion to exclude YSA members from observing the meeting was then made and quickly defeated, with only six votes in favor.

For the next three hours the body deliberated over a series of proposals on what the new organization should be. Proposals considered included those for a radical student union, a nuclear disarmament organization, a new political party, a literature distribution service organization, an umbrella student union for all student groups, and a coalition based upon opposition to racism and the Vietnam war.

The two proposals receiving the most discussion were one presented by a group of "independents" who supported the exclusion of YSA from the SMC, and one presented by Mike Zagarell of the Communist Party, who also supported exclusionism in the SMC.

Zagarell proposed that the new organization take the form of a coalition around a limited number of issues such as racism, the war, the draft, etc. He said that the Student Mobilization Committee, from which they had just bolted, had been successful because it "fills a vacuum" on the campuses by mobilizing students in a coalition for mass action.

Art Goldberg, Leslie Cagan and Linda Morse, exclusionists from the former Working Committee of the SMC, and Bob Gottlieb of Students for a Democratic Society put forward the position that the new organization should not be a coalition but a membership organization.

Political Agreement

The point of agreement between the two positions was the exclusion of the YSA and opposition to forming a coalition for mass demonstrations against the war.

Phyllis Kalb of the Communist Party and an exclusionist from the old Working Committee of SMC spelled it out. "I'm against the YSA concept of mass demonstrations. I'm just tired of them."

Bob Gottlieb cautioned the group at one point, "Although we all feel like brothers because we all hate the trots [Trotskyists], that isn't enough of a basis for a new organization."

As the discussion went on it became clear that the majority of the group supported the Morse-Cagan-Goldberg position.

Brent Garren of the exclusionist wing of the New York High School Student Mobilization Committee stated that his group had decided to become a high school students' union, organizing on issues such as dress codes, smoking in class, and student control of curriculum.

The closest the group came to a concrete formulation of their aims was "to organize students around things they want to do." Exactly what that would mean in practice was not completely clear.

In the discussion over structure, Bob Gottlieb proposed that a special type of membership be set up for members of "disciplined political groups" whereby they would have only a single spokesman for their views. Brent Garren suggested that members of such groups be denied the right to vote or serve on the steering committee of the new organization.

Mike Zagarell stated that the Gottlieb formula might be interpreted as exclusionary. His organization had no desire to take over the new group, he stated. "We could have brought a lot of our Communist Party youth members to pack the Continuations Committee meeting [of SMC]," he said, "but we didn't, even though we were asked to by independents."

Zagarell then reassured the body that he did not think it was exclusionary to fire the two YSAers from the staff of SMC.

In a poll of the meeting it was discovered that they did not have any people there from the West or South, and only three from the Midwest.

"We don't have a student leader like Danny the Red who everyone will follow," complained Phyllis Kalb.

"Phyllis," interjected Allen Gross of Queens College, "we don't say that Danny the Red is a student leader. We say that he has just been thrown up by the bourgeois press."

Organization

The discussion proceeded to the question of finding a staff and an office. A staff was selected, and the national office will be in Philadelphia. The special attraction of Philadelphia for Bob Gottlieb was that unlike New York, Philadelphia would be less likely to breed and perpetuate "bureaucracy," a characteristic of New York, according to Gottlieb.

A lively interchange took place over the name of the new organization. New Left Federation (NLF) was rejected on three counts: Many students are not sympathetic to the National Liberation Front of Vietnam which has the same initials; the group did not want to appear as simply an antiwar organization; and it did not want to appear as a coalition or federation of groups, but rather as a membership organization.

The name, Student Peace Movement, was received coolly and a suggestion for a name including the word "alliance" was booed down. The selection of Radical Organizing Committee was greeted with applause and was adopted.

Art Goldberg suggested that concrete steps should be taken to "protect" the new committee. "We are liable to find ROC groups in places like Detroit and Minneapolis," Goldberg complained. His fear that "the trots" (at least those west of the Hudson) would try to take over was alleviated somewhat when Jewlett of UCM suggested setting up a credentials committee to examine local groups before they were given accreditation as chapters of ROC. Goldberg volunteered to serve on such a committee.

The ROC will try to measure the response of students to the new organization in the next few months, and a decision will be made as to whether or not to hold a national conference.

Because of the important political events taking place, **The Militant** will appear every week during the summer instead of every other week as previously.

...De Gaulle vote

(Continued from page 5)
zeal to end the demonstrations, which are likewise inimical to elections.

And instead of reminding the electorate of how de Gaulle smashed the former electoral system so that the National Assembly was reduced to a body of but little significance in the governmental structure, with representation in that body "readjusted" to cut down Communist Party representation in particular, the Stalinist bureaucrats campaigned against the "leftists" and "provocateurs" who wanted to take advantage of the revolutionary opportunity that had been presented to the French people.

The Communist Party refrained from calling attention to a point made even by liberal bourgeois voices. Not only were young workers and the hundreds of thousands of youth who had been active in the high-school and university agitation barred from participating in the election because of their age level, but some 250,000, who had come of age since the registration of voters at the beginning of the year, were denied their legal right to vote—the Gaullist regime refusing to open the registration lists and bring them up to date.

De Gaulle's third important action was to open a witch-hunt. This began with speeches by prominent Gaullists like Pompidou and by de Gaulle himself about an alleged "plot" for a "Communist takeover" in France. Special fire was directed by these orators against the "leftists" and "provocateurs" who had started the street demonstrations and the general strike. The next step was deportation of foreigners, particularly youth, accused of participating in the demonstrations.

Then the revolutionary organizations, both youth and adult, were banned. This was immediately followed by raids on their headquarters and on the homes of their leaders. A number of arrests were made and these political prisoners were held incommunicado, in some important instances until after the first round of the elections.

Revolutionary Organizations Muzzled

Thus one of the prominent features of the "free" elections staged by de Gaulle was the muzzling of the revolutionary organizations so that their voice could not be heard. From this it can be judged how unstable de Gaulle considered the situation to be as the country went through the ritual of dropping paper ballots in boxes to determine who should sit in a largely token National Assembly.

This explains, too, why another feature of the "free elections" staged by de Gaulle was the order to have the troops stand by.

The Communist Party bureaucrats went along with de Gaulle's game to the bitter end.

They did their best to present themselves as the loyal opposition to de Gaulle, deserving full credit for saving the country in an hour of desperate peril. With breathtaking lack of logic they at the same time explained to members troubled in conscience about the party's failure to respond to a revolutionary situation that actually no revolutionary situation had existed at all.

The main slogan of the Communist Party was "For a Popular Government and a Democratic Union." What this meant was not spelled out in detail. The target, however, was the "monopolies"; so that it can be deduced that the Communist Party advocated a government of the "liberal" or "progressive" bourgeoisie "with the participation of the Communist Party." The

content of "participation" was likewise not spelled out. What the Stalinist bureaucrats had in mind, no doubt, was a few posts as in the memorable days of de Gaulle's first regime following World War II when they saved French capitalism from the "threat" of socialism by persuading the Resistance fighters to turn in their guns and the workers to refrain from striking in order not to interfere with production.

This line failed to convince the conservative petty-bourgeois layers whose fears the CP sought to allay. It was a costly line in another respect, for it failed to inspire the working class, to say the least. A study of the concrete voting pattern in key districts shows in fact that the CP failed to gain in predominantly petty-bourgeois districts, while in the famous "red belt" in the Paris area, abstentions among workers who traditionally vote Communist was unusually high. The rightward shift of the CP failed to pay off with votes from the petty bourgeoisie which might have compensated in the electoral arena for the losses on the left among the revolutionary-minded layers who had become convinced through experience that the road to workers power does not run through a bourgeois parliament.

CP Slanders Rebel Students

The salient feature of the Communist Party's electoral campaign, however, was the fire directed at the rebel students and revolutionary organizations that had dared to try to outflank the Stalinist chieftains from the left. Waldeck Rochet and his lieutenants protested de Gaulle's charges about a "Communist plot" to take over France but that was all they protested. They did not protest the Gaullist slanders levelled against the revolutionary organizations and students who had inspired the demonstrations. They did not protest the deportation of foreigners—they echoed the ultraright line about Daniel Cohn-Bendit being a "German Jew." They did not protest the police raids on the headquarters of these organizations or on the homes of their members. They did not protest the political arrests carried out by de Gaulle's police.

Just the contrary. They joined in the Gaullist witch-hunt.

On June 24, stung by the defeat suffered in an election conducted according to the rules of the game specified by de Gaulle, and now faced with the task of explaining to their own members how they came to be mouse-trapped by the 78-year-old general, the Stalinist general staff sought to blame it all on the revolutionary-minded students and the banned organizations that had been involved in the demonstrations.

L'Humanite Editorial

In a front-page editorial signed by Rene Andrieu, the June 24 *L'Humanite* declared: "It is clear that the blackmail of threatening civil war bore fruit and that it influenced the most backward layers of the population. That was the essential objective of the Gaullist strategy—in this it succeeded."

"The extravagances, the provocations, the useless violence—naturally deliberately magnified and expanded in the government's propaganda—committed by the left groups manipulated by the Minister of the Interior, resulted as could be expected. It will doubtless prove interesting for history to ascertain exactly who took the initiative in the 'barricades' of Rue Gay-Lussac, even if some students in good faith let themselves be caught in the police snare. Each barricade, each automobile set on fire turned several hundred thousands of votes over to the Gaullist party. That is the truth of the matter."

Absurd Conclusion

A more revealing statement could scarcely be expected. *L'Humanite* ended up by adopting de Gaulle's thesis that the May events were the result of a plot! Except that the plot was cooked up by de Gaulle instead of the Communist Party.

The logical conclusion to this is that in order to grant the strikers wage gains ranging as high as 20 percent, de Gaulle required them to stage a general strike. To get the general strike, he had to stir up the students and get them to build barricades to serve as a "detonator." De Gaulle's trip to Rumania and Pompidou's trip to the Middle East thus constituted a wily ruse to cover up the most crucial days of the conspiracy.



COPS BEAT STUDENT. French special police attacked student and young worker demonstrations early in May. But example of struggle put up by these young people fired whole working class, which then entered battle. Now, cowardly CP leaders are attempting to blame revolutionary youth for their own failures.

Having exposed de Gaulle's plot to grant some very impressive economic concessions to the working masses, the Communist Party itself stands exposed for what it really is—a true party of "law and order," standing up "responsibly" against the "excessive demands" of the workers which de Gaulle granted.

L'Humanite's lament over the loss of votes presumably occasioned by each barricade and each "automobile set on fire" is truly pitiful. What did they expect in an election conducted according to de Gaulle's rules? Why did they agree to participate in such a fraud? Why were they so eager to accept de Gaulle's bait?

Worst of all, perhaps, is their assumption that de Gaulle would have abided by the results of the election if they had gone against his expectations.

Outside of the Communist Party strategists, virtually all knowledgeable observers of the French scene hold that the current elections solved nothing basic whatsoever in France.

In its postelection editorial of July 2, for example, *Le Monde* warned the bourgeois world: "Just the same, nothing has been settled. It was not at all due to some 'splinter groups' being caught in a squeeze between the Gaullist majority and the Communist Party that such large numbers of youth chose to revolt and the strikes spread everywhere. The same causes normally produce the same effects, the 'events' of yesterday—to adopt the current euphem-

ism—can be reproduced tomorrow with greatly increased gravity if a resolute determination to profoundly modify our objectives and methods is not very quickly displayed."

The truth is that the economic concessions granted under the pressure of May "events" can be wiped out in perhaps record time—a jump in the price of bread was permitted by the government within a few days after it reached agreement with the trade-union bureaucracies (principally the Communist Party union leaders) on the Grenelle formula for wage increases.

The renewal of the class struggle, if it begins within the period immediately ahead, as seems most likely, will proceed from the political level reached at the close of the May events. This will greatly enhance the chances for a swift success no matter what the machinations of the Gaullists and the Stalinists may be.

The danger remains, however, that the French bourgeoisie will now do their utmost to strengthen the most reactionary forces in the country in order, through repressive measures—including extraparlimentary means—to block a repetition of the scare they suffered in May. This course, however, is filled with pitfalls, for it can have just the opposite result from the one aimed at. The threat of fascism in France, or of a military dictatorship like the one in Greece, can serve to arouse the working class and precipitate a showdown that would signify the doom of French capitalism.

----- clip and mail -----

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$3.)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 4 month introductory subscription.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for a 1 year regular subscription.

NAME
STREET
CITY STATE ZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

JCR buttons 25¢

On orders of 20 or more, 17c each.
Order from: Young Socialist Alliance,
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New
York, N. Y. 10003

GI morale at new low during "peace" talks

By Joel Aber

JULY 2—Escalation of the war in Vietnam is continuing at an even more rapid rate, now that Washington is playing up the negotiations in Paris in an attempt to mask its real intentions.

The *U.S. News & World Report* of June 24 reveals the real state of affairs in the first sentence of its lead article: "Suddenly, in the midst of so-called peace talks in Paris, American war casualties in Vietnam are rising at a record rate. . . .

"Twenty thousand American men will be killed in Vietnam this year, at the current rate, and 120,000 will be wounded. That is more than in all previous years of the war combined."

For this reason, the hoopla about peace talks is apparently quite unconvincing to the GIs in Vietnam, who see an ever larger percentage of their buddies being killed. The *U.S. News & World Report* article goes on to say that "the mood of many Americans [in Vietnam]—civilians and military—has changed almost overnight."

"Instead of a 'gung ho' attitude about winning the war, a deep lethargy has set in." According to the article, only the top brass continue "to echo an optimistic Administration line about 'steady progress.'"

"Talk to the lower echelons—officers and enlisted men, career employees and civilians on temporary contracts—and you hear a different story. At this level, the U.S. effort in Vietnam is talked about openly and frankly as a lost cause." The demoralization has spread, according to *U.S. News*, from draftees to even career officers: "Young servicemen, in for one hitch, have always kept their 'short-time calendars' to mark off the days until they return to the U.S. Today you see battalion and brigade commanders—career officers—just as anxious to get their tours of duty over and clear out."

Soldiers who return for a second tour of duty are especially bitter, according to the article. They "find the areas they had 'won' on their first tour being contested again."

The morale of dictator Thieu's South Vietnamese conscripts is no better. *U.S. News* states that "The desertion rate among South Vietnamese soldiers, always an indicator of troop morale, has shot up—while the defection rate among Communist soldiers has plummeted."

While Washington feeds the American public trivia about Harriman in Paris, soldiers' unhappiness with the war has increased manifold. GIs have been among the first to see that the Paris talks are just another big lie. *U.S. News & World Report* sums up the feeling of the soldiers: "Bitter realism is the mood now."

The following Associated Press dispatch appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* of June 1, 1968:

NEW ORLEANS—In a sharp reversal of position, a spokesman for the American Legion said members are "fed up" with the Vietnam war.

"There no longer seems to be anything to be gained by this war," said C.J. Acosta of Napoleonville, commander of the legion's Louisiana department.

"I doubt anything would be gained even after it is ended," Mr. Acosta told newsmen. "The quicker it is over, the better it will be with us."

The legion, holding its 50th annual state convention here, has vigorously supported the Vietnam war in past years.

Mr. Acosta said the main reasons for the shift in opinion were the length of the war and its minimal gains.

In solidarity with French revolutionists



posters
50¢

Reproductions of posters put out by revolutionary students in France. A nonprofit project in solidarity with French revolutionists.

order from:

Young Socialist Alliance
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, N. Y. 10003

l'Enrage

A reprint of a cartoon magazine put out by French students (Action Committee No. 1) on the revolutionary developments there. This edition, published by Berkeley, Calif. radical bookstore "Granma," contains English translations and explanations.

A nonprofit project published in solidarity with the revolutionary students of France.

16 pages two colors

50¢

Order from:

Granma Bookstore
2519A Telegraph
Berkeley, Calif.

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

SDS convention beset by factional disputes

By Carol Lipman

EAST LANSING, Mich.—The national convention of Students for a Democratic Society, held here June 10-15, was beset by a bitter faction fight. After three full days of workshops and three more days of plenary sessions, the convention passed no programmatic resolutions (except a minor one) and spent 12 full hours electing its national officers.

There was a feeble attempt to develop a strategy for SDS in a resolution submitted for discussion by three leading SDS members: Bernadine Dohrn, Tom Bell and Steve Halliwell.

The passage of this resolution would have been a step away from the organization's developing revolutionary answers to the major questions of the day.

The French revolt has shattered the myth put forward by spokesmen of the "new left," including Herbert Marcuse, that the industrial working class is incapable of fighting for social change.

But the makers of the resolution ignored the lessons of the French revolt. They based their perspective on Marcuse's theory that the relationship between labor and production has changed and that the industrial working class is not the prime instrument for social change.

Many SDSers rejected this resolution because of its position on the working class. Since no other resolution offering a political perspective for SDS was presented, the resolution was defeated by a slim margin. Thus, no political perspective for the organization was adopted.

Bitter Struggle

The faction fight hit the floor during a debate on the structure of the organization. Two main structural changes were proposed. While these would have meant little actual change in the functioning of SDS, each grouping saw the victory of one or the other resolution as a victory for itself.

One resolution, written primarily by Jeff Segal, an SDS leader presently in prison for antidraft activity, was viewed as a proposal for more "structure" or centralization. The other, presented by an anarchist grouping, was viewed as favoring decentralization.

A majority of voting delegates supported the first resolution. But, because of a provision requiring a two-thirds majority to change the constitution, it was blocked.

Delegates who were members of the Maoist-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party were the largest single grouping opposed to the Segal resolution, and hostility towards PL broke out on the floor. During the debate, one SDSer accused PL of being in SDS only to recruit to PL. He said PL wasn't interested in allowing SDS to develop its own revolutionary perspective and that PL was blocking political discussion and debate among the "real" SDSers. At that point an anti-PL demonstration took place on the floor.

A frustrated body of delegates spent the evening discussing what was happening to SDS, and some caucused straight through the night.

Elections

When the session opened the next day and the election of national officers was before the body, only one person accepted nomination for the top post of national secretary. One accepted nomination for national interorganizational secretary, and two accepted nomination for national educational secretary.

Some from the floor demanded the right to cast "no" votes, while others were calling the elections a mockery of the organization and still others were requesting time to caucus to convince other people to run. Tom Bell then grabbed the microphone and delivered a 15-minute red-baiting attack on Progressive Labor. He said that PL shouldn't be allowed to exist within SDS. With the cry of "PL out!"—picked up by a majority of the delegates in a roaring, clapping chant—Bell ended his speech.

Debate

A cool-headed chairman organized the convention into a three-way debate between the supporters of Bell, supporters of PL and the neutrals. This debate exposed the inability of a large number of SDSers to develop a political analysis of PL, and their failure to do this led them to oppose PL on a purely factional and organizational basis.

There were others who didn't agree with PL politically, but opposed this redbaiting and defended PL's right to stay in SDS. Their disagreements with Progressive Labor may have been on any number of questions flowing from PL's Maoist perspective. PL's position opposing Soviet aid to North Vietnam was clearly rejected by the majority of delegates, for example. But they were turned off by the redbaiting and by the inability of the leadership to present a revolutionary perspective in opposition to PL. Many left the convention early.

The debate ended after a few hours, and the body got to the business of electing a national leadership.

Mike Klonsky from Los Angeles, the single nominee for national secretary, was elected, although there was a substantial "no" vote. Bernadine Dohrn was elected national interorganizational secretary and Les Coleman was defeated by Fred Gordon for the post of national educational secretary.

Elections for the National Interim Committee (NIC) took two ballots. Elected on the first ballot were: Mike James, Mike Spigle, and Carl Oglesby. On the second ballot Chip Marshall, Jeff Jones, Barty Haile, Eric Mann and Spector were elected. Those elected represented a layer in SDS most factionally opposed to PL.

The last day of the convention was poorly attended. All resolutions were tabled, except for a minor one on the military. No resolution was passed on the 1968 elections.

There was a general sentiment in the convention against candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. Most viewed the McCarthy campaign as a threat to the radical character of their organization. The Socialist Workers ticket of Halstead and Boutelle was not discussed, but over 40 more SDSers became endorsers of the socialist campaign at the convention.

A resolution in support of the Peace and Freedom Party was discussed, but it was tabled because of the nonrepresentative character of the gathering at that point.

There was no discussion of the most important political issue facing the radical movement in the U.S.—the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement.

Rally to protest Newton frame-up set for July 15

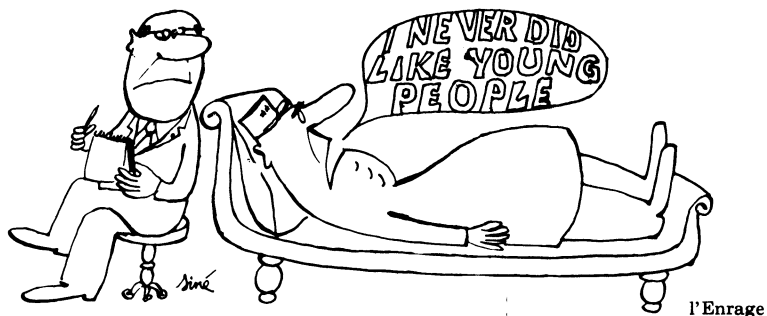
By Jim Kendrick

SAN FRANCISCO—In response to a call from Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver to all sympathetic organizations, the Free Huey Committee has been formed here to organize a protest demonstration on July 15 at the Oakland Court House to demand freedom for Huey Newton.

Newton, a founding member and leader of the Black Panther Party, will come to trial July 15 on the frame-up charge of "murdering" an Oakland cop on the night of Oct. 28, 1967. On that night Huey Newton and an associate were driving down an Oakland street and were stopped by a cop for an alleged traffic violation. The cop ordered Newton to get out of his car. Newton refused. In the ensuing struggle, several shots were fired. Newton was seriously wounded in the abdomen, and one policeman died. The cops were cleared of any crime; Newton was charged with murder.

The July 15 demonstration will begin the process of bringing maximum local, national and international pressure to bear on the Oakland city government and police department to free Huey Newton and clear him of the frame-up "murder" charge. Cleaver, in his call for the demonstration, emphasized the importance of a broad, united action involving all layers of the community, black and white.

The Free Huey Committee has the support of many groups and organizations, including the Young Socialist Alliance, the Peace and Freedom Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Independent Socialist Club and the Progressive Labor Party. Inquiries and donations should be sent to the committee, care of Karen Wald, 55 Colton St., San Francisco, Calif.



l'Enrage

Black Liberation Notes

According to the June 7 issue of *Muham-mad Speaks*, an international campaign has been launched to free Fatima Birnawi, a 27-year-old Palestinian black woman, from an Israeli jail. Fatima, a member of the Palestinian liberation organization, Al Fatah, was accused of putting a bomb in an Israeli movie house and attempting to blow up the communications system of the UN supervisory headquarters in Jerusalem.

The Israeli occupiers have given her life imprisonment. Already Fatima has become a symbol of struggle to the Palestinian Arabs in their fight against Zionist occupation. In Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, demonstrations of up to 20, 000 people have occurred. These actions were sponsored by the Sudanese Women's League and the Sudanese Cultural Club. When Fatima was asked by an Israeli periodical if there can be peaceful coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, she replied, "Why not? But the first condition must be that we regain our country, that before anything else can be solved."

The civil war in Nigeria enters its second year this month. Millions of people have been killed and maimed. The causes of war lay not in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, or in Enugu, the capital of secessionist Biafra, but in London and Lisbon. Although the issues are murky and muddy, it is obvious that some blame must be laid at the door of the federal government in Lagos for the continuation of the war.

An article in the July 3 *New York Times* described how millions of people are suffering from malnutrition and starving to death in Biafra because of a shortage of food. According to Dr. Herman Middlekoop, a rural health specialist representing the World Council of Churches, "Several million people are likely to be dead by the end of August, and I have no doubt that even six million people will die in

the next six months without a cease-fire and massive help."

This is a war that nobody seems to care about. The two-faced morality of the West is revealed in this situation. While the imperialist nations will intervene in the Congo to save a few white missionaries, nobody will help save the starving Biafrans. But then, of course, the Western powers do not operate by the principles of morality but by the dictates of their political and economic interests.

Periodicals

In the April-May edition of *The Black Conscience* magazine, there is a reprint in full of the Merit Publishers pamphlet, "Case for a Black Party." *The Black Conscience* is put out by the Organization of Afro-American Education in Detroit. It can be obtained by sending 50c to: *The Black Conscience*, 8661 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan 48204.

The June edition of the *Inner City Voice* is off the press. The lead article is on a wildcat strike by black workers at Chrysler assembly plant in Detroit. Along with articles on police brutality, there is one on the visit of Black Panthers Kathleen Cleaver and Bill Brunt to the offices of the ICV. Check out the *Voice*. If you want to get a copy of the *Voice* or send contributions, write to : *Inner City Voice*, 8661 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48204.

A new publication, the *Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Newsletter*, has just recently come out. The main article deals with the question of why black people should support the Socialist Workers Party campaign. It also carries an article on some of the activities of Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the SWP. To get a copy or make contributions, write to: Anthony Thomas, c/o Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

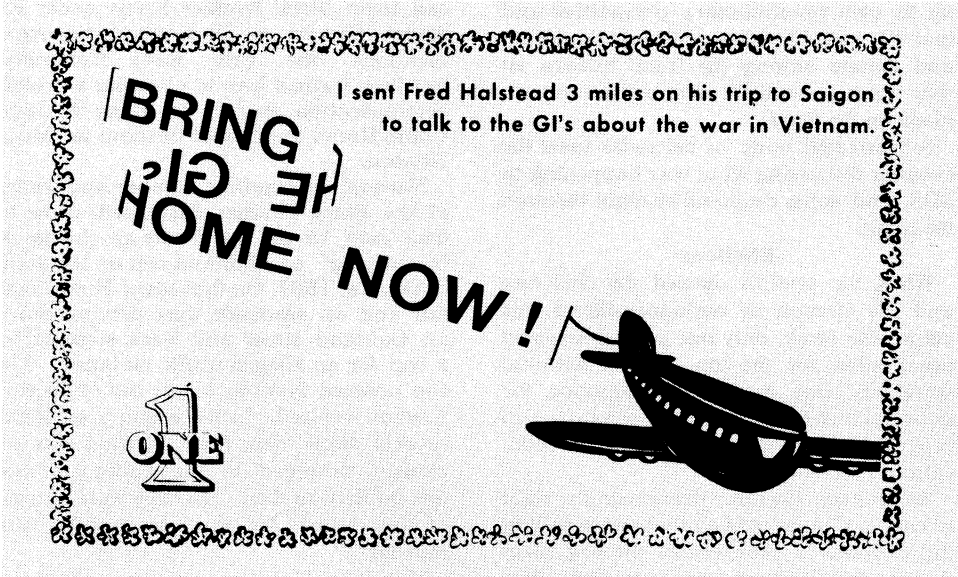
— Derrick Morrison

Halstead will go to Vietnam to talk to American soldiers

In August, Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, will travel to Saigon to discuss the Vietnam war with American GIs. He will also be stopping in Japan to participate in the Beheiren (Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee) conference to be held in Kyoto, and to attend Hiroshima and Nagasaki memorial meetings and actions.

In order to pay for travel and living expenses for the trip, \$7,500 must be raised.

Coupons like the one below are being sold to help raise money for the trip. Each coupon costs \$1 and will cover the costs of sending Halstead three miles to Saigon (and back!).



----- clip and mail -----

Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Enclosed is \$ to send Fred Halstead miles on his trip to Saigon.

I want to order coupons to sell.

Name

Address

City State Zip

French left asks aid in rights fight

The revolutionary groups in France banned by de Gaulle are waging a struggle against the repression directed against their organizations and members. They are fighting for the right to exist and function—to speak, to hold meetings, to publish newspapers—without the threat of arrest which now hangs over them for simply exercising their rights.

In addition to filing in court a series of legal briefs demanding the lifting of the illegal bans, the French revolutionists intend to carry on a step-by-step action campaign to reestablish their rights. They intend to publish newspapers, sell them in the streets, hold public meetings and speak as individual revolutionists. Each of these acts will be a test of de Gaulle's repressive decree, and a reassertion of the right of all the banned organizations to function.

At any stage, de Gaulle may decide to arrest or otherwise harass the revolutionists. But each time one of these acts is successfully carried out, it will be a step toward the complete reassertion of the democratic rights of the organizations.

An international solidarity campaign in behalf of the victims of the Gaullist repression has been set in motion in Belgium. An international solidarity fund has been established to make it possible for the French revolutionists to carry on both their legal fight and the step-by-step challenge of the ban.

Emil Van Ceulen, a veteran leader of the Belgian labor movement, who is secretary of the fund, has made an appeal for contributions, which are needed immediately. He has asked that checks be made out to Emil Van Ceulen and sent to:

Emil Van Ceulen, Secretary, Fonds de Solidarite contre la Repression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

* * *

The Paris daily *Le Monde* printed the following story June 28 on a press conference held by Alain Krivine, a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth):

Alain Krivine, member of the national bureau of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (a recently dissolved organization), accompanied by Pierre Rousset, held a "clandestine" press conference in Paris on Wednesday [June 26]. He protested the measure against his movement.

"The government knows perfectly well that it has no evidence against us," he stated. "We never constituted an armed militia. Our relations with other revolutionary groups abroad are officially stated and known to all. Thus, there is by no means any plot involved. We received no directives nor any subsidy from abroad. We call on the government therefore to prove the accusations it has made against us, to make them in a public trial." Krivine added that the JCR monitors, who made up the essential part of the monitors of UNEF [Union National des Etudiants Francais—National Union of French Students], had always been purely for self-defense and had always had orders to avoid clashes with the police."

Krivine declared that the [mass] movement was now in a period of stagnation and that it would revive in the coming months. "Our present objective is not to organize new demonstrations or to sabotage the elections but to consolidate and organize the revolutionary vanguard in order to prepare it to intervene more coherently and with more precise goals. A revolutionary front must be created which would constitute a permanent political force to the left of the CP. This would be a step in the direction of forming a party. On the other hand, discussions must be carried forward so as to formulate a transitional program for the passage to socialism. Such discussions, for example, should clarify the concept of workers control in the factories."

According to Krivine, France did experience a revolutionary period in May and the seizure of power was then possible. However, the attitude of the Communist Party, "which accepted elections at the very time when they were the only way out for the Gaullist government was a real betrayal



Alain Krivine

of the revolutionary movement."

The May events, according to him, put the problem of worker-student relations in a new light. "Up until now, this relationship has been understood in terms of discussions with the trade-union leaderships. In other cases (this was the notion of the "pro-Chinese") the students wanted to put 'themselves' in the service of the working class." These two concepts failed. The May events showed that students could play the role of a "spark," helping to open up a frozen political situation. These events also proved that students can play a role of 'model' in offering examples of direct action and new forms of struggle able to make the government give ground."

* * *

Gilles Martinet, a member of the editorial board of the Paris weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, denounced the ban in the July 19 issue of the magazine.

"We all knew—and the police knew for dead sure—the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, the March 22 Movement, and, in a more episodic way, the Federation of Revolutionary Students, as well as the "pro-Chinese" formations, spearheaded all the demonstrations that transpired in Paris from May 3 to 13," Martinet said.

CALENDAR

BERKELEY

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Every Sunday, 8:00 p.m. 2519A Telegraph Ave. A usp. Berkeley YSA.

CHICAGO

FRANCE 1968: REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES. Sun., July 14, 7 p.m. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, editor, *The Militant*. 302 S. Canal St. Contribution: 35c. A usp. Socialist Summer School.

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Sat., July 13: *The Workers' States*; Sat., July 27: *The Cuban Revolution*; Sat., Aug. 10: *Fascism*; Sat., Aug. 24: *Black Nationalism*. 11:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

CUBA. A series of lectures and discussions. Fri., July 12: *Cuba Before the Revolution: A People Under the Heel of Imperialism*; Fri., July 19: *The Struggle for Power: The Revolutionary War and the Evolution of Leadership*. 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

FRENCH REVOLUTION BETRAYED—The Role of the French Revolution Party in the May Events. Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 12, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE MEANING OF THE BERKELEY BARRICADES. Speaker: Peter Camejo, Berkeley student leader and SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Calif. Fri., July 12, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1.00. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Background of steel contract negotiations

As the Aug. 1 strike deadline approaches, conditions for steelworkers today remain as archaic as they were 20 or more years ago. The United Steel Workers leaders give a lot of lip service to steelworkers' demands for a change, but come contract time, they always make deals with the steel barons.

This has meant a real bonanza for the bosses, who have been able to finance their "modernization" programs directly out of the hides of the steelworkers.

The work load per job and per worker continues to increase out of all proportion to job description. A well-established pattern of intimidation discourages rank-and-file initiative. The union bureaucrats go along with the companies on this. The result is that the steel bosses are raking in a bigger take from the steelworkers' higher productivity.

Underlying this situation are heavy-handed labor relations—the no-strike clause, the bosses' disciplinary powers, the cumbersome grievance procedure, corporation control of work schedules, the confining hours of work—all of which are as bad as ever.

Ask any steelworker and he will tell you what a farce is made of the 40-hour week under the four-shift system, with no weekend overtime; how generous foremen are in handing out disciplinary memos; how many grievances get "buried" on the way up the ladder.

The Wage Inequities

There are three aspects of the wages system which put the steelworkers in a continually worsening position among organized workers.

The loss of the cost-of-living escalator clause in the four-month strike of 1959 is an important factor. This has resulted

The National Picketline

in a loss, up to the present, of 40 cents to 60 cents an hour, possibly more. Thus steelworkers are minus \$15 to \$20 in their pay envelopes each week.

The second aspect of inequality is the wage scale itself, one of the lowest among organized workers today. The starting wage is \$2.50 an hour.

Thirdly, in the steel industry, the great majority of workers, from 50 percent to 70 percent, are in the unskilled or semi-skilled categories. Thus the average wage for more than 50 percent of the steelworkers is \$2.80 an hour, plus or minus a few cents.

Other contradictions aggravate this situation. Modernization programs in steel have meant not only a reduction of the total work force in favor of electronically controlled operations and the elimination of several old processes, but also the dislocation of workers with seniority to other plants and other jobs at lower pay. Young men entering the industry now have little opportunity to move up the wage scale because of this situation.

I.W. Abel, United Steel Workers president, says the average wage of his membership is now \$3.40 an hour. Steelworkers know this is a false figure. Even as a basic wage, compare it with the autoworkers, or chemical and paperworkers, where the sons of my shopmates are starting out at \$3.30 an hour!



DURING 1959 STRIKE. Striking steelworkers picketed home visited by President Eisenhower in La Quinta, Calif. demanding Ike not use Taft-Hartley Law against them.

By Abel's own figure, there is a deep inequality among steelworkers themselves. If 60 percent are earning about \$2.80 an hour, then the remaining 40 percent are earning about \$4.40 an hour (and there must be pronounced differences in the second group, too). Thus a minority of steelworkers earns better than \$1.60 more than the great majority of their union brothers.

This has led to a demand—popular among a broad stratum—for an immediate cash increase of 50 cents an hour across the board. A modest enough demand!

Abuse of Incentive System

The most unequal feature of the wage system is the so-called "incentive program." Difficult to believe, this system originated with Carnegie and Frick in the 1890s in order to separate the skilled workers, like the old hand rollers, from the mass of unskilled workers, and to break the drive for unionization. This system will be difficult to uproot.

Over the years it has produced a chaotic situation in steelworkers' wages. A crazy-quilt of incentive pay has been built up in steel union contracts. Basically, a key worker—in the past, rolling mill operators, annealers and such—receives a percentage bonus per ton of steel produced by his unit or department. He therefore pushes all the men below him to get out the needed tonnage.

The struggle of other workers to get into the incentive "plan" has only multiplied the inequalities in pay. Thus an anneal crane man makes as much as 60 cents more an hour than a finishing-crane operator. A skin-mill bander makes 30 cents more than a finishing bander. The operators themselves can make as much as \$5 more an hour than the lowest man on their unit. These pronounced inequities are often compounded by deals made between steel bosses and a favored union officer at contract time. Such a union representative can pass along additional incentive pay to his base of support in the shop.

It is apparent that there is a need for a thorough overhaul of the wage system in steel. Because of this situation, as many as 60 or 70 percent of workers in any one mill will be moonlighting, or baby-sitting while their wives are working.

A Three-Way Struggle

What are the attitudes of the contending forces as the Aug. 1 strike deadline approaches?

The steel bosses remain as arrogant as ever.

If the June 1 settlement for 30,000 USW members in aluminum is par-setting, the steel bosses seem willing to settle for the same "package" steelworkers have gotten in the past three contracts of 1959, 1962 and 1965. That simply means a measly 55 to 60 cent, three-year increase. Or in steelworkers' language, just another 18 or 20 cent cash increase spread over three years, plus a few changes in the fringe benefits.

For their part, the steel union leaders remain as conservative as ever, as docile toward the bosses and as tough with their members. The USW constitution is the same one that Philip Murray handed the steelworkers with an iron fist in 1941. The few changes made at conventions are those guaranteeing the bureaucracy additional privileges.

This was made clear even at the special convention in March, where Secretary-Treasurer Walter Burke, explaining the need to double the dues, indicated that a good part will be used to protect the privileges and "status" of the legion of flunkies who administer the union's affairs.

I.W. Abel had unbent a little by creating "councils" allowing local union presidents to "participate" in contract deliberations. Too often these local presidents are little more than flunkies for the 32 district directors, who form the upper crust of the union. Thus rank-and-file demands, or independent expression of them, have little chance of being heard.

The steelworkers themselves are the uncertain factor.

Many young men and more black workers have entered the industry in recent years. In its drive to beat the strike deadline, the steel industry has been compelled to institute a lot of overtime, which for steelworkers has meant paying off old bills and acquiring a few more comforts.

Steelworkers are realistic. They know this exceptional rise in production is leading to a slowdown in the industry this fall, strike or no strike, and a return to the three to four-day week, to which they have become accustomed, and which compelled them to moonlight in the first place.

This only sharpens their desire to see a genuine increase in their wages and a real improvement in their conditions of work when the industry slows down.

If there is a strike, forced by the steel bosses, we will see whether this mood, this desire for a real change, will turn in a militant direction.

The changes that have affected people in the country as a whole in the recent period may also be given unexpected expression by steelworkers on strike.

— Henry Austin

Dow man ducks Madison debate

MADISON, Wis., June 20—When Ned Brandt came to Madison, he thought that at this time, at least, there would be no demonstrators. E.N. Brandt is head of public relations for the Dow Chemical Co., manufacturers of napalm.

He was wrong.

Brandt was scheduled to speak before the Madison Press Club to present what he called "Dow's side of the story," and he chose a time when school was not in session. And, just to make sure, he spoke in a hall far removed from campus. In spite of all this, some 40 demonstrators, organized by the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, formed a militant picket line in front of the Veterans of Foreign Wars Hall. They demanded that Brandt come out to debate with them.

The president of the Press Club, Cedric Parker (also managing editor of the *Capital Times*), negotiated with Brandt and allowed one person into the meeting to question the guest speaker. Bob Wilkinson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Wisconsin, was chosen to represent the group.

After about a half hour of debate, Parker decided that things were getting too hot for Dow's Brandt, and Wilkinson was told to leave. Later several members of the Press Club talked with Wilkinson and expressed their disappointment that the debate was stopped, "just when things were getting interesting."

Bill Patrick of the NBC outlet in Madison offered Wilkinson and Brandt air time to continue their discussion. Brandt, who earlier that evening had said his company was always eager to discuss the issues, declined the invitation.

The Great Society

HARD DAY'S NIGHT—Sybil Burton Christopher, co-owner of Arthur's discotheque in New York, threw a party there for Vidal Sassoon, a high-powered celebrity barber (\$5,000 once for trimming Mia Farrow). Highlight of the party was a hairdressing contest on live models for the guest. Mrs. Christopher joined in. "I never did anything like this before," she confided. "I can't even do my own hair. I find the whole thing so strenuous—reaching one's arms up there around the head."

WITH JUSTICE FOR ALL—New York cops apparently had a great time busting an alleged sporting house in a luxurious brownstone. "It was like a Roman orgy," one of the participating cops enthused. "Some of them were even eating grapes." Five women and three men were arrested. In accordance with police procedure, the names and addresses of the five women were released to the press. The names of the men, of course, were not.

PRESERVING OUR IMAGE—To assure the hospitality of the city, the Miami police force will ring the Republican convention with special security forces. Their equipment will include such items as 40 shotguns, 20 flak jackets, 50 smoke grenades, etc. So they won't be obtrusive, they will be shielded from view by a wall of hedges now being planted. "It would be a relatively simple matter," the chief of police explained, "to make it a totally secure operation, with tanks, and blocking off streets. But then you'd have a police state. That's totally alien to the image of America in the world." But with the hedge, the egghead chief explained, "We've combined esthetics and function."

IT'S LOGICAL—Shortly after Congress enacted a law socking taxpayers with a ten percent tax hike, a House committee voted to increase congressional pensions by

about one third. However, even with the boost, retired lawmakers would have to scrape by on no more than \$24,000 a year.

THE GO-GO BOYS—According to a *New York Times* survey, workers are winning longer vacations but busy top executives are taking shorter ones. If so, there could be a variety of reasons. Like maybe someone might notice that things run quite well without them. Or perhaps they're concerned that in their absence their replacement may be oiling the shaft. Or maybe it's simply that someone who spends most of the year in hot pursuit of a buck finds it a bit pointless to just loll on the beach. As Jack Benny once put it, "What good is happiness—can it bring you money?"

NEW YORK'S "FINEST"—After a careful, six-year probe, the New York District Attorney's office says it has found evidence of graft in the police department. In fact, they say, it extends right up to a special police-department group selected to deal with the graft problem. We assume six years was sufficient for the probers to thoroughly immerse themselves in the graft issue. Now, to give others a whack at it, the mayor should appoint a committee to investigate the investigators. It would prove lucrative.

GIVE AND TAKE—Howard Ahmanson, an apparently significant financial operator, judging by the political bigwigs who attended his Los Angeles funeral, was eulogized, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, as a man who "returned to his community a good part of what he took from it." Perhaps to ensure that no one claimed the balance, "an honor guard of sheriff's deputies stood at attention outside the church."

— Harry Ring

McCarthy Says It's Conceivable That He Could Back Rockefeller

— headline in July 1 New York Times

I make no apologies to those critics who call me "Rocky the Cop." We will have order, and no mistake about it.

— from advertisement by Rockefeller in same issue

..BERKELEY

(Continued from page 3)

down the street to city hall and held a meeting there. Then we decided to try to enter the curfew area as a protest against the curfew.

It was this day that we started to suffer an increased number of arrests. The rally soon disintegrated when the mayor appeared, and many small groups who left ended up fighting with the cops.

Outside of these incidents, the night was quiet, except for police, who used the curfew as an excuse to harass people.

The fact that we did demonstrate on this day was crucial, because if we had decided not to come out that day, it would have given the impression that the curfew would break the movement. At the same time, we were in the difficult situation of knowing that the relationship of forces was very unfavorable to us. We only had about 500 people in the streets at the time we acted.

It was hard to tell at this time what public opinion toward the demonstrators was—but the police brutality and the fact of the curfew were helping to push things in our favor.

Saturday was crucial to show we could fight; Sunday was a stalemate, in my opinion, and then Monday we opened up a whole new strategy, which brought us to victory.

We called off all demonstrations for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and simply declared we would go through all the procedures needed to get Telegraph closed for Thursday, July 4. Just as we had done for the first demonstration, we decided to go again to the city council to show that we were simply trying to use rights which belong to us, and that the ruling powers—the businessmen and people who run this town like Mayor Johnson, the city council, the police department—that they were violating our rights and were creating and provoking the situation that existed.

The mass meeting where all this was decided was held on campus—outside—because no one had given us a place to meet. This meeting showed the movement's rapid growth, the sympathy that we were getting. The curfew had continued to turn the tide somewhat in our favor—more than we had realized.

Between 1,200 and 1,500 people turned up for this meeting. One thing that was clear was that the student community was now beginning to enter the struggle in greater numbers. There are only 9,000 students on campus during the summer, and we estimate that about 900 of the people at that meeting were students.

It was agreed at this meeting that the next action would be to gather at the city council meeting the next day to hear the debate on the demands we were making. The mayor, under pressure from the movement, had agreed to hold an open meeting of the council.

Council Meeting

So many people turned out for the council meeting that they had to change meeting places at the last minute. We presented

three main proposals to the council. The first was that the curfew be lifted completely. The second was that the Peace and Freedom Party proposal to hold a referendum for a police control-board be placed on the ballot, and the third was, of course, the closing of Telegraph for the July 4 rally.

During the council meeting, which lasted eight hours, between 50 and 100 people got up and expressed their views on what was happening, with 95 percent of them being completely favorable to our proposals.

This brought a lot of pressure on the council, as they began to hear report after report from ministers, older people, lawyers, doctors, middle-class people, as well as the youth and protesters, who were eyewitnesses on Friday, on how the monitors kept people on the sidewalk, how the rally had been completely legal.

The Mayor's and the council's only defense was that the street had been closed for a brief period, so that the only crime they accused the demonstrators of was that they had temporarily closed the street. For that the mayor and council had thrown the whole town into a state of emergency with the curfews, etc.

This city council meeting was spectacular in that at no time in the history of Berkeley had there ever been such a meeting where over a thousand citizens came to speak their minds. The case was so clear-cut to all those present that it was obvious that if the city council did not grant our demands, there was going to be a powerful outcry.

It was a meeting where people reassured themselves that they were completely right just by listening to each other, by each person getting up and giving their own personal experiences. Most people didn't know exactly what happened because everyone just witnessed one or another aspect of the events. As the general picture began to dawn on people, it became absolutely clear to everyone: We were completely right in our accusations.

Council Vote

When the question finally came to a vote, the result was a five-to-four vote against us, denying us Telegraph Avenue for a rally on the 4th. (They offered us a different site for the rally.) Of course, there was an immediate outcry against this by everyone present. However, the council also had voted to lift the curfew.

We called a mass meeting that evening in the same hall where the city council had held its meeting. Close to 2,000 people came, making it the largest decision-making movement meeting in the history of Berkeley.

Eldridge Cleaver came to the meeting and got a standing ovation.

The meeting was almost unanimous in favor of our proposal, which was a simple one: that the city council's rejection of allowing us Telegraph Avenue had become a symbol—the block on Telegraph and the date of July 4 had become a symbol—for our right of assembly and our right to have a say over what happened to us,



photo by Hermes

BARRICADE. Berkeley students erect barricade on Telegraph Avenue during second night of defense against police attack.

and for the right to organize to fight for the things we believe in.

The position of the Independent Socialist Club (ISC) to forego Telegraph Avenue July 4 received almost no support. Telegraph and July 4 had become symbols of the general struggle.

As such, we felt we couldn't compromise on it—either by moving the location, or by moving the date. Thus, everyone voted to hold a demonstration on July 4, on Telegraph, regardless.

In arguing for the proposal, I made the point strongly that if we stood tough and showed we were ready to fight for our rights, we would win to our side all the people who were wavering—and we would bring to bear such pressure on the city council that it couldn't be ruled out that members of the city council would capitulate before Thursday.

This was especially true if we made it clear that we were ready to fight. But if we had begun to capitulate, they would have intensified their attack on us, instead of the other way around.

The next morning, when the city council met and reconsidered the question, they did switch and voted five to three to give us the Avenue. Thus ended the six days of fighting in the streets and with the city council.

Elizabeth Barnes: What was the role of the YSA in all of this?

Peter Camejo: Much of the press and TV and the newspapers played up this whole thing as a purely YSA action. This is inaccurate, and it reflects a tendency on the part of the press to try to red-bait the whole thing.

The YSA, in actual numbers, was but a small fraction of the people involved in the actions. But, throughout the six days, YSAers were extremely active and in many places played the key role in doing the work to build the movement.

After the original rally initiated by the YSA, we did everything possible to build the protest as big as possible, to broaden its base of support, to work to bring in every group and every individual that

could be gotten to participate in every aspect of the work. By doing this, we wanted to keep any group from completely dominating the action.

We saw everything as a movement thing, and tried to organize every action as a movement thing.

Elizabeth Barnes: What were the other groups involved?

Peter Camejo: Actually, the majority of the people who participated did not belong to any group. The main groups which took part were the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, and the Independent Socialist Club, many of whose members are also members of the Peace and Freedom Party.

Elizabeth Barnes: What do you think were the main political issues involved in the struggle?

Peter Camejo: Of course, the specific issue involved was the right of assembly, but behind this—and this is important—are other issues: the right to have an antiwar movement, the right for the Berkeley movement to have the right to struggle against the oppression of the black community.

A fight of this type could not exist and would not develop unless there were these other issues. There is a certain confusion among some people, who feel that you must immediately raise all these other issues and demands.

But when you get into a fight with the government around a specific point, you can mobilize people, you can involve masses, and through it they can learn a terrific amount in a short time about the way the system is run and what it shows about the nature of the police department.

And through this you open up whole new layers to consider other issues, such as the Huey P. Newton defense and what the Black Panther Party is doing.

So concentrating on this specific question—of that one block and opening it up—did not in any way cut across the other struggles, but on the contrary will strengthen those struggles and the number of people participating in them.

Also, crucial to the struggle was the fact that every tactic and turn was based on the question of how to win over mass support: mass support in the streets and mass support in terms of public opinion.



photo by Dave Warren

POLICE VICTIM. Berkeley demonstrator attacked by police June 28 receives aid at YSA headquarters which was turned into first aid station during police attack on peaceful, legal demonstration.

Camejo to speak in New York

NEW YORK—Peter Camejo will speak on "The Meaning of the Berkeley Barricades" at 8:30 p.m., Fri., July 12. The meeting will take place under the auspices of the New York Militant Labor Forum at 873 Broadway, near 18th st.

NEXT WEEK: Our next issue will feature a special photographic spread on the week-long victorious Berkeley struggle.